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# MEMOIRS

OF

# MAXIMILIAN DE BETHUNE, DUKE OF SULLY,

PRIME MINISTER TO

# HENRY THE GREAT.

CONTAINING

The Hiſtory of the LIFE and REIGN of that MONARCH,
And his own ADMINISTRATION under Him.

Tranſlated from the FRENCH.

To which is added,

The TRYAL of RAVAILLAC for the Murder of
HENRY THE GREAT.

IN SIX VOLUMES.

THE FOURTH EDITION

VOL. V.

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LONDON:
Printed for A. MILLAR, in the Strand; R. and J. DODSLEY, in
Pall-Mall; and W. SHROPSHIRE, in New-Bond-Street.
M.DCC.LXIII.

ADAMS 143.10
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# A SUMMARY OF THE BOOKS contained in the FIFTH VOLUME.

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## SUMMARY of the TWENTY-EIGHTH BOOK.

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# MEMOIRS

# OF

# SULLY.

## BOOK XXIV.

ALL the affairs of the kingdom were this year, 1607, ſo free from diſturbance, that they afford us ſcarce any event remarkable, or particular; but to compenſate for this they preſent us with a ſcene which, notwithſtanding its uniformity, is more ſtriking than uncommon cataſtrophes, in which the writer or the reader is only entertained with repeated acts of inhumanity or corruption, ſuch acts as can excite no other motion than thoſe of horror and diſguſt. This ſtriking ſcene is the plenty and the quiet with which all France was overſpread: never were there known ſo many pleaſures and diverſions as appeared this winter in Paris and at court; and the ſame tokens of a happy reign were diſcovered likewiſe over all the kingdom. This happineſs, which derived its ſource from the benevolent diſpoſition of Henry, reflected in its turn upon him, and gave him back part of the benefits he beſtowed. Diſengaged from the hurry and tumult of war, till the time preſcribed by himſelf, to complete the glory of his reign ſhould arrive, he had little elſe to do but to reſign himſelf to the calm pleaſures of a private life, amongſt his faithful ſervants, and in his different palaces, which he viſited ſucceſſively one after the other: he was at Saint-Germains on the firſt of January, whither I could not go to pay my accuſtomed compliments to their majeſties: the wound I had formerly received in my mouth opened by an impoſthume, which confined me to my houſe. His majeſty had the goodneſs to write to me, to let me know how greatly he was concerned for my indiſpoſition, and ſent two of his miniſters, whom he chiefly employed, to confer with me upon the affairs of government, the plan of which he always formed in the beginning of the year. Theſe two miniſters were Villeroi and the keeper of the ſeals; for Sillery, whom I have already diſtinguiſhed by this title, had been aſſociated by his majeſty with Bellievre in the office of chancellor, till by the death of that miniſter, which, it was foreſeen, was not far off, he ſhould fill the employment alone. Bellievre, once remarkable for the ſtrength of his underſtanding, had been for ſome time ſo greatly altered, that it was neceſſary to give him a ſucceſſor, while he was ſtill alive: he bore this aſſociation ſo impatiently, although Sillery behaved with the utmoſt politeneſs to him, as afforded a new proof of his incapacity to act alone *. His weakneſs increaſed daily; and returning again to a ſtate of infancy, he paid at length

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* "You ſee, ſaid he, to M. Baſſompierre, a man going to ſeek "his grave in Paris. I have ſerved as long as I was able, and now, "when I am found no longer fit for ſervice, I am ſent to my repoſe, "and to take care of the ſalvation of my ſoul, which the doing "other people's buſineſs did not give me time to think of before; "a chancellor without ſeals is like an apothecary without drugs." Journal de Baſſompierre.

When Henry IV. required the ſeals of M. de Bellievre, in order to beſtow them on Sillery, he took the opportunity his journey to the Limoſin afforded him for it, the great age and weakneſs of Bellievre not permitting him to follow the king in it: the chancellor ſaid, "If his majeſty would not make the ſeals ride poſt, he would "take care to deliver them in time wherever his majeſty ſhould be. "---You ſeem, ſir, added he, to be afraid there is not ground "enough in Guienne to bury me; I am in good health, and have "no deſire to live longer than I can be of ſervice to you; but I "ſhould think life a burden to me, ſhould you think fit to diſcharge "me." P. Matt. tom. ii. liv. iii. p. 688. This great chancellor, whoſe probity and ſteadineſs were univerſally acknowledged, had ſerved under five kings. He was the author of many uſeful regulations in the chancery. He died the 5th of September, in the following year, aged 78 years. He was born at Lyons.

the laſt tribute to nature, after having paid almoſt all the others.

The king came to Paris on the 2d of January, with a deſign to carry the queen to Vigny; but I diſſuaded him from this journey, and he contented himſelf with making a tour to Fontainebleau, from whence he returned to Paris towards the end of February, in order to go to Chantilly, which was his ordinary reſidence during the month of March, it being very pleaſant there in that ſeaſon. In a letter he wrote to me from that place, dated March the 8th, he tells me, that the weather there was very fine: that he was every day on horſeback, and paſſed his time very agreeably. He fixed no where, till, after returning to Paris on the 20th of March, he ſet out immediately for Fontainebleau, where he ſtayed the ſpring. He had fine weather during his journey from Paris to Fleury, whither he went to viſit his children who were in that palace; but from thence to Fontainebleau the rain accompanied him all the way. In the letter, in which his majeſty gave me a detail of this journey, he likewiſe informed me that the dauphin had come a league to meet him; that he found him very handſome, as likewiſe his other children; that the queen, who was then with child, was very well in health; and that they expected to be very ſoon at Fontainebleau. "Send "me the news of the city;" ſaid this prince, in a letter dated the 1ſt of April. "My wife and I are "in good health, as are likewiſe my ſon and the "reſt of my children, who are the prettieſt crea"tures in the world, and give me infinite pleaſure*."

The queen was delivered on the 16th of April, at 11 o'clock at night, of her ſecond ſon, who was afterwards called the duke of † Orleans. Montmartin brought me the news of it immediately, in a billet from his majeſty; and almoſt in the ſame moment I received a ſecond letter from him, in which he commanded me to cauſe the cannon to be fired. The birth of this prince redoubled the joy of the royal family; the king, who had intended to return to Paris at the beginning of May, thought no longer of quitting Fontainebleau, from whence he only took a journey to viſit madam de Moret.

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* Perefixe ſays, "he loved all his children, legitimate and natural, "with equal affection, but with different conſideration: he would "not ſuffer them to call him Monſieur; a title which ſeems to "eſtrange children from their father, and to denote ſervitude and "ſubjection, but ordered them to call him Papa, a name of love "and tenderneſs."

HUNTING was, as uſual, his favourite diverſion: although this exerciſe is not in my taſte, yet I ſhall venture to pronounce that it is not a very agreeable amuſement, ſince ſo great a number of perſons find an invincible attraction in it. The account that Praſlin gave me from Fontainebleau, of the parties his majeſty had engaged in, was not very likely to alter my opinion of it. In one of his letters he gave me a relation of the manner in which his majeſty had ſpent one day: all the morning he had paſs'd in fowling, hunted the wolf in the afternoon, and concluded the day with the chace of a ſtag, which had laſted till night, and in the midſt of a ſhower of rain that held three or four hours; they were then ſix leagues from any place where they could lodge, and were obliged to ride from thence wet through with rain, except the king only, who changed all his cloaths before he came to Fontainebleau, where he arrived a little fatigued indeed, but in high ſpirits, and perfectly ſatisfied, becauſe he had that day taken all that he had attacked. This is what princes call diverſion; but we muſt not diſpute their taſtes or pleaſures. The preceding day's fatigue did not prevent Henry from employing himſelf all the next morning in viſiting his workmen, and running from one work-room to another. " It is certain, added Praſlin, that at his return

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† He had no chriſtian name, dying in his fifth year, before he was baptized.

" from the park he felt ſome ſlight touches of a " fever; but this was nothing to him." Henry, when he wrote to me on this ſubject, ſhewed himſelf a true ſportſman, for he always ſlightly paſſed over his fatigues, and dwelt upon what he called his ſucceſſes; for example, he wrote to me, on the 20th of May, that he had hunted the day before with infinite pleaſure, and had not been incommoded with the heat; that he had taken his ſtag very early, dined at Ponthierry at ten o'clock, and at half an hour after two returned to Fontainebleau, where he found the queen, who had come to meet him. Another time he ſays, in one of his letters, " I have juſt taken a ſtag, amidſt great heat, and " with great ſatisfaction." Predominant paſſions are always thought cheaply gratified, be the purchaſe ever ſo dear.

This prince, however, was not ſo much engroſſed by his pleaſures, as to neglect any of his affairs; but as at that time they gave him but very little trouble, all he had to do was to write to me, or ſend for me to Fontainebleau, when he had any important affair to communicate to me: he ſent for me and the preſident Jeannin on Eaſter Wedneſday, and ordered his council to attend him there on the Monday after Eaſter. He never forgot to reward any additional trouble, by new inſtances of his bounty: " I will not, wrote he to me, wait for requeſts from " thoſe by whom I am ſerved with diligence and " fidelity; you aſſiſt me ſo well in my affairs, that " it is fit I ſhould aſſiſt you likewiſe in yours; I " therefore aſſign you twenty thouſand crowns out " of the money ariſing from the extraordinary " branches of my revenue: cauſe the neceſſary diſ" patches for it to be made out." In another letter he ſays, " I hear you are building at La Chapelle, " and making a park there; as a friend to builders, " and as your good maſter, I make you a preſent "of ſix thouſand crowns, to help you to do ſomething handſome there."

THERE is another ſort of letters which I received from Henry, that are far higher in my eſtimation, ſince the confidence of ſo great a prince ought by a faithful or affectionate miniſter to be preferred to preſents; ſuch are thoſe in which he opened his heart to me, and confided to me his deareſt intereſts. In one of theſe letters he thus expreſſes himſelf: "A thought has occurred to me this morning, "which makes it neceſſary for me to ſee you, and "conſult you, as the moſt faithful and affectionate "of all my ſervants." It was the ſame with every thing that happened to diſturb his quiet. My ſon happened to hurt himſelf in endeavouring to break a horſe; his majeſty ſent a courier expreſly to know the ſtate of his health, writing to me, that as a father and a maſter he took all imaginable intereſt in it. My ſon was ſtill more dangerouſly ill in November; and the king, not ſatisfied with ſending Du Laurens his firſt phyſician to him, and recommending him in the moſt earneſt manner to his care, wrote to me, that I was ſo dear to him, that if he imagined his preſence was in the leaſt neceſſary, he would come himſelf, to give me this proof of his affection; and with great goodneſs allowed me not only to defer my journey to Fontainebleau for two days, but for all the time that I could be uſeful to my ſon.

IN the unhappy affair that happened at Amiens, where Rambures murdered my nephew D'Epinoi, the king being informed of the exceſſive affliction into which this cruel accident had plunged the brother of the deceaſed †, ſent a perſon to viſit him in his name, and three ſeveral times afterwards ſent him compliments of condolance. Some incendiaries had endeavoured to animate the whole family of Epinoi againſt the count of St. Paul †, whom they accuſed of having had a hand in the aſſaſſination of my nephew. Saint Paul, juſtly offended at theſe reports, came to his majeſty, and, with all that generous confidence which innocence inſpires, cleared himſelf of the imputed crime, by proving that he was in Calais when it was committed: he ſpoke of the unhappy victim of this cruelty and artifice with praiſes, and with a grief ſo ſincere, that I myſelf regretted he was not at Amiens, where he ſaid he might have prevented this accident: he proteſted that he would willingly have ſhed part of his own blood to have preſerved the unfortunate D'Epinoi. He afterwards complained that his enemies, beſides the other injurious reports they had propagated, gave out that his majeſty had reſolved to have him examined in a court of juſtice, and had promiſed to treat him with great ſeverity; that I had determined to behave to him with contempt, and get him prohibited from coming to Paris, while I was there. Saint Paul ſtaid three whole days in Paris, to remove the ſuſpicions that had been conceived of him. I thought he behaved like a brave and gallant man upon this occaſion; and I believe he was very well ſatisfied with the manner in which I treated him. Henry was as much intereſted in this affair as if it had concerned him perſonally; he cleared up the whole conduct of Saint Paul to me, and in a letter he wrote to me at that time, deſired me not to give credit to any reports that ſhould come from the Baſtile, where my enemies had no other view but to join a ſecond misfortune to the

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† Of ſeveral ſons ſprung from the marriage of Peter de Melun, prince of Epinoi, marquis of Richebourg, and Hyppolita of Montmorency, of whom (as has been before mentioned) M. de Sully had taken the guardianſhip, only two then remained alive; William de Melun, prince of Epinoi, viſcount of Gand, conſtable of Flanders, grand bailiff of Hainault, knight of the order of the golden fleece, &c.

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&c. it was he who had the great law-ſuit with the princeſs de Ligne, which will be mentioned hereafter: and Henry de Melun, marquis of Richebourg, his younger brother, who was killed by Rambures.

† Francis d'Orleans, count of St. Paul.

firſt. He exhorted me to take advantage of the confidence Saint Paul ſeemed to have in me, to prevent the affair from having any bad conſequence.

I WAS ſtill confined to my houſe by this unfortunate accident, when the king came to me one day to confer with me about ſome affairs of gallantry, which I have forgot; all I remember is, that I expreſſed myſelf in very ſevere terms againſt Madame d'Angouleſme † and another perſon, who were principally concerned in it; and that I was bold enough to repreſent to Henry that amours, which ſo little ſuited with his age and dignity, were ſo many baneful wounds to his glory, and probably would end in ſomething ſtill more fatal. My freedom, often graciouſly received, produced nothing this time but an extreme rage in Henry, and drew upon myſelf the moſt lively reproaches from him. He left my chamber in ſuch wrath, that he was heard to ſay aloud, and with great emotion, "It is impoſſible "to bear with this man any longer; he is eternally "contradicting me, and approves of nothing I "propoſe: but, by heaven, I will make him obey "me; he ſhall not appear in my preſence theſe fif-"teen days." My diſgrace appeared to all that were preſent as a thing abſolutely reſolved on. My ſervants were all afflicted; but many others, I believe, inwardly rejoiced at it.

AT ſeven o'clock the next morning, the king came to the arſenal, with five or ſix perſons whom he brought with him in his coach. He would not allow my people to give me notice of his arrival; but walked up to my apartment, and tapped at my cloſet-door himſelf. Upon my aſking, "Who is "there?" he replied, "It is the king." I knew his voice, and was not a little ſurpriſed at this viſit. "Well, what are you doing here?" ſaid he, entering with Roquelaure, De-Vic, Zamet, La-Varenne, and Erard the engineer; for he had occaſion to ſpeak to me about the fortifications of Calais. I replied, that I was writing letters, and preparing work for my ſecretaries. And, indeed, my table was all overſpread with letters and ſtates of affairs, which I was to lay before the council that day: "And how long have you been thus employed?" ſaid his majeſty. "Ever ſince three o'clock," I replied. "Well, Roquelaure," ſaid the prince, turning to him, "for how much money would you "lead this life?" "Faith, ſire, not for all your "treaſures," replied Roquelaure. Henry made no anſwer; but commanding every one to retire, he began to confer with me upon matters in which it was impoſſible for me to be of his opinion; and this he eaſily perceived when I told him coldly, that I had no advice to give: that his majeſty having, doubtleſs, taken his reſolution after mature deliberation, all that remained to be done was to obey him, ſince he was diſpleaſed when my ſentiments happened not to agree with his. "Oh, oh," ſaid Henry, ſmiling and giving me a little tap on the cheek, "you are upon the reſerve with me, and "are angry at what happened yeſterday: however, "I am ſo no longer with you; come, come, em- "brace me and live with me with the ſame freedom "as uſual: for I love you not the leſs for it: on "the contrary, from the moment that you ceaſe to "contend with me on occaſions where I am con- "vinced you cannot approve my conduct, I ſhall "believe you no longer love me."

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† Charlotte de Montmorency, wife of Charles de Valois, duke of Angouleſme.

It is circumſtances like theſe that ſerve to diſcover the bottom of Henry's character; and, indeed, to relate them is to ſhew him in his faireſt light. It is common enough to ſee the miniſters and favourites of princes fall into diſgrace; it is likewiſe common to ſee them deſerve ſuch uſage by a criminal conduct. On theſe occaſions, can it be ſaid that the puniſhment is the conſequence of a fault?

this is ſeldom the caſe. That which ought to be done, merely upon principles of juſtice, is often the effect of caprice, levity, and ill humour; for reaſon ſeems to be equally incapable of making herſelf heard, when ſhe oppoſes the paſſions, or when ſhe joins with them.

THE king afterwards converſed with me upon affairs which it is not permitted me to relate here; then embracing me, he bid me farewel. As he went out of my cloſet, he told De-Vic that he had provided for the fortifications of Calais; and raiſing his voice, "There are people, ſaid he, fooliſh "enough to fancy, that when I ſhew any reſent-"ment againſt M. de Sully, I am really in earneſt, "and that it will hold a long time; but they are "greatly deceived: for when I reflect that he ne-"ver makes me any remonſtrances, or contradicts "me but for my honour, my grandeur, and the "advantage of my affairs, and with no view to his "own intereſt, I love him the more for his free-"dom, and am impatient till I tell him that I do." A prince who underſtands his own intereſts, ſhould thus from time to time give ſtriking marks of his eſteem for the miniſter he has made choice of; provided that choice be really good, it will likewiſe ſecure to him that of the public, which is a very eſſential point.

I NOW return to thoſe affairs on which Villeroi and Sillery were, by the king's order, to confer with me. One of the moſt important related to the proteſtants. The king having in the preceding year granted them permiſſion to hold a convocation in this, they were ſummoned to meet at Rochelle; and the deputies of which it was to be compoſed, were appointed in the provincial aſſemblies. It was from ſome of theſe very deputies his majeſty received notice that the article of the convocation at Gap concerning the Pope, of which ſo much has been already ſaid, was expreſſed in their papers.

However ill-affected a part of thoſe who bore the greateſt ſway in this aſſembly might be, they judged it neceſſary to ſend three deputies to his majeſty, as well upon this affair, as ſome others which they knew would not be agreeable to him. The matter was this: they had determined to bring again under examination the queſtion which had been already diſcuſſed with ſo much warmth at the aſſembly of Chatelleraut, concerning the nomination and number of the proteſtant deputies-general, and the duration of their office, as the time for which the preſent two were to be employed was near expired.

THE king, by ſending the private deputies to me from Fontainebleau, where he then was, followed his uſual cuſtom on ſuch occaſions, which was to make me acquaint the aſſembly with his intentions as from myſelf; and from a principle of affection for my brethren, reſolving, if he could not ſucceed by theſe means, to make uſe of his authority. On the 27th of April, my brother was ſent by his majeſty to confer with me; but as I was ſtill in expectation of ſeeing the king himſelf at Paris, I kept the deputies two or three days without giving them an anſwer, which I ſhould have been glad to have concerted firſt with his majeſty. On the 5th of May, I had a letter from him, in which he told me that he had altered his deſign of coming to Paris, and ſeemed impatient to know what I had done with the deputies. "I know already, "ſaid he, all they could ſay to you in anſwer to "thoſe repreſentations, which, in the letter I ſent "you by your brother, I directed you to make "them. M. de La Noue, to whom I ſpoke yeſ"terday in the preſence of M. de Villeroi, repeated "to me the greateſt part of what paſſed. He tells "me, he never ſaw ſo many fools in one ſet of "men, and named Rivet among others. It can"not be doubted but that the deputies, before they

" ſaw you, conſulted firſt with M. du Pleſſis, who " inſtructed them what to ſay."

I WROTE ſuch a letter to the aſſembly as his majeſty required of me: I exhorted them not to arrogate to themſelves any power, with regard to the article concerning the general deputies, which belonged to the police, or the government: I repreſented to them that the offices of the general deputies ought to laſt three years, leſs time not being ſufficient to give them a thorough knowledge of affairs; and that they ought not to content themſelves with naming two deputies only; becauſe, as the choice was not confirmed by the general aſſemblies till private ones had been firſt conſulted (a formality that took up a great deal of time) if any accident happened to one of theſe deputies, the party would want an agent with the king; therefore if, inſtead of two, they always propoſed ſix to his majeſty, the vacancy would be ſupplied immediately by his naming one of the ſix pointed to him in the liſt. With regard to the Pope, I remonſtrated to them, that by again urging a queſtion which had been already pronounced uſeleſs and diſreſpectful to the Pope, who by his gentle and pacific character merited a quite different treatment, they ran the danger of loſing, through their own faults, and for a trifle of no conſideration, that calm and happy ſituation which had ſo long been the end of their wiſhes. I referred them to the ſentiments they had formerly acknowledged, and concluded my letter by repreſenting to them, in the moſt forcible manner I could, that diſobedience of any kind to their maſter was dangerous; but that an unjuſt and unreaſonable diſobedience would infallibly end in their deſtruction.

I LIKEWISE got ſome other perſons, whoſe influence with the party I was ſenſible was greater than mine, to write to them in the ſame terms, and entreat them to hear, and conſider with attention, the arguments Montmartin had to add to theirs, I fixed upon him to be the bearer of this letter; and his majeſty on this occaſion thought him qualified to be the interpreter of his will to the aſſembly. I likewiſe made uſe of another motive to influence their reſolutions, which his majeſty expected would have ſome weight; and this was, that as the Rochellers had lately ſolicited the grant of two thouſand livres for their college, I gave them to underſtand that his majeſty would judge by the reſpect and deference which they induced their brethren to pay to his orders, whether they merited this favour from him. Some days afterwards I received a letter from the king, in which he informed me, that Montmartin and the deputies ſent by him had been indeed tolerably well received by the aſſembly; but that they had not ſhewn all the reſpect they ought to have done, either to the ſpeeches of the firſt, or to my letters, and thoſe that were added to them, the authors of which had been ſtiled in deriſion, "The "four prophets of the church." The accounts Montmartin ſent from time to time of the diſpoſition of the aſſembly were not more to Henry's ſatiſfaction. "If this holds," ſays he in a letter to me, "they will be kings, and we the aſſemblies." However, that party which was for the king carried it at laſt. The zeal Montmartin exerted in this aſſembly was rewarded by the king with a penſion, although it could not be ſaid that his ſucceſs was complete with regard to the obſtacles he had ſurmounted: yet he thought he had done all that was poſſible to be done, ſince he was able to declare to his majeſty that his will had been obeyed. "Montmartin," ſays Henry in a letter to me, "has "taken great pains in this affair, tho' to little pur-"poſe, which he will not believe; he has brought "the ſhadow, but the ſubſtance remains; the ar-"ticle of Gap having no more than two voices."

The church of Pons gave an inſtance of great boldneſs, when by ridiculouſly applying to herſelf the manner of governing in religious affairs by deputies-general, ſhe took the liberty to name three perſons to the king, Verac, Longchamp, and Bertauville, to be inveſted in quality of particular deputies with the government of that city. Henry anſwered only by his edicts: but he was not leſs offended with this inſolence, than at the informations he received of the private conferences Leſdiguieres and Muarat held together; as likewiſe of the diſreſpect ſhewn by the miniſter Chamier to the conſtable, in paſſing through Montelimar. I afterwards made this miniſter clear himſelf to Henry of the faults that had been charged upon him.

Towards the cloſe of this year, the Rochellers gave the king another cauſe of diſguſt with them, by writing in a body, without his majeſty's knowledge or mine, to the king of England, to demand the liberty of a Scotch miniſter, named Melvin, who had been impriſoned in the Tower of London for having publiſhed ſome injurious writings againſt the king and his council. The Rochellers had nothing to ſay in their own defence, againſt a fact which the miniſter Primroſe himſelf, who had carried their diſpatches to England, confeſſed to his majeſty, and was, in conſideration of this confeſſion, permitted by the king to exerciſe the miniſterial functions at Bourdeaux: but what rendered the Rochellers ſtill more criminal, was, that they attempted to give this priſoner a retreat in their city, and to allow him to preach in their churches; which carried in it ſuch an affectation of independence as was wholly inexcuſable. The king of England did not require much intreaty to grant to a city he had an affection for, ſo ſmall a favour as the enlargement of a ſtranger he was glad to have out of his kingdom; nor am I certain but that the council of London found a ſecret ſatisfaction in making the king of France ſuch a preſent: but Henry, beſides the conſideration of his authority, which was wounded by ſuch a procedure, had the ſame reaſon for not receiving him into his dominions, as king James had for driving him out of his. He ſent Bullion to confer with me upon this affair, which was alſo the ſubject of many letters I received from him, or from Villeroi by his orders. I was likewiſe commiſſioned by the king to demand from the Rochellers an explanation of this conduct, to reproach them with their temerity, and to prevail upon them to implore a pardon for it of his majeſty, who appeared perfectly ſatisfied with every ſtep I took in this affair.

Among many real faults charged upon that city, it was found that there were ſome groundleſs and unproved imputations. The jeſuits being deſirous of ſending one of their ſociety to preach in Rochelle, La Varenne, father Cotton, and ſome others, choſe father Seguiran * for that purpoſe; and, that they might not hazard a refuſal from his majeſty, they applied to Beaulieu and Freſne, the two ſecretaries of ſtate, who, by their own authority, and without mentioning it to his majeſty, delivered to this father letters by which he was entitled to preach in Rochelle. The jeſuit accordingly preſented himſelf at the city gates, and being aſked who he was, replied boldly, "I am Seguiran, of the company "of Jeſus, who, by virtue of the king's letters, am "come to preach in this city." "Go back again," ſaid the centinel very diſreſpectfully, "we know "very well that Jeſus had no companions, and that "you have no letters from the king." The Rochellers, without hearing more, obliged the father to go back. Seguiran in a rage threatened to complain to the king, and did not fail to keep his word. He was ſo well ſeconded by his partizans at court, who, concealing all or part of the truth from his majeſty, exaggerated the diſreſpect that had been ſhewn to his orders, in ſuch a manner, that Henry in a billet,

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† Gaſpar Seguiran, afterwards confeſſor to Lewis XIII.

which expreſſed great rage and impatience, deſired I would immediately attend him at Fontainebleau.

I FOUND the court in an uproar, and the king ſurrounded by perſons who uſed their utmoſt endeavours to keep up his reſentment. "So," ſaid he, as ſoon as he ſaw me, "your people at Rochelle have acted "in a ſtrange manner: ſee the reſpect they ſhew "me, and the gratitude they expreſs for the friend-"ſhip I have diſcovered for them, and the favours "they have received from me." He then related the fact to me, with an air that ſhewed he was determined to chaſtiſe them for the fault; but afterwards taking me aſide, "I have been obliged to ap-"pear angry, ſaid he, to ſilence thoſe who are ſoli-"citous to find ſomething to blame in my conduct. "But the Rochellers have not been entirely in the "wrong; for I neither gave orders for thoſe letters, "nor was informed of their intention to procure "them; if I had, I ſhould have taken care to pre-"vent their being granted. However, you muſt "think of ſome means to ſettle this matter, without "diſcovering what the ſecretaries of ſtate have done; "for that will produce bad conſequences for all "their other diſpatches."

AFTER ſettling with his majeſty what was fitteſt to be done, I wrote to the Rochellers that it was abſolutely neceſſary they ſhould make ſome ſubmiſſion to the king, and aſſure him of their ſorrow for having offended him. I inſinuated to them, that by a little obedience this affair would end advantageouſly for them: I aſſured them, that the letters had been granted without his majeſty's knowledge, but that they ſhould have no farther trouble of that kind, and that the king would put an end to this without encroaching upon their privileges: and, laſtly, that I would take all imaginable care to manage their intereſts, together with two or three of their beſt and wiſeſt citizens, whom I deſired them to ſend to me. The method I took was, to procure father Seguiran other letters ſigned by his majeſty himſelf, by virtue of which he preached at Rochelle a few days, at the end of which he was recalled; a medium with which the jeſuits themſelves did not appear diſſatisfied.

BUT it was extremely difficult to find one that would content the city of Poitiers. From the time that this city had been conſtrained to admit the jeſuits, I was fatigued with repeated complaints of theſe fathers from the biſhop, the lieutenant-general, and the principal inhabitants, either ſeparately or in a body. Theſe complaints, which were not made by the proteſtants only, but even by the catholics themſelves, turned chiefly upon the great number of partizans the jeſuits had gained at Poitiers, who on their arrival had given them poſſeſſion of a college, and expended great ſums of money upon houſes and furniture for them, and had even endowed them with the richeſt benefices in that diſtrict: yet that theſe fathers, who had been ſettled amongſt them upwards of two years, and during that time had the moſt part of the youth of the city committed to their care, had been of no advantage to them; a misfortune of which they were more ſenſible, having had before, as they alledged, good colleges, and excellent maſters. To theſe they added complaints of more conſequence, accuſing the jeſuits of ſowing diſſenſions in the city, and in the whole province; and earneſtly intreated that they might be recalled, and a royal college founded. It was not poſſible for me to do them much ſervice with Henry, who lately had carried his complaiſance for the order they complained of ſo far, as to grant, at their ſolicitation, that his heart ſhould be depoſited in their college of La Fléche, inſtead of the church of Notre Dame, where it was the cuſtom to depoſit the hearts of our deceaſed kings. It was upon this occaſion that a canon of that church, meeting a jeſuit about the time that this diſtinction was granted to his ſociety, aſked him which he would rather chooſe, to put the king's heart into La Fleche, or la fleche into the king's heart †.

NOTWITHSTANDING the favours his majeſty was every day ſhowering upon the jeſuits, this ſociety doubtleſs thought themſelves ſtill more obliged to the king of Spain, ſince he continued to ſupport all their deſigns; deſigns which they carried on in the kingdom, and even in the midſt of the court itſelf. The Spaniſh ambaſſador freely diſcloſed to the great number of friends this crown had amongſt us, that his catholic majeſty was reſolved to prevent, by every method in his power, a king ſo ambitious, ſo prudent, ſo able a general as Henry was, whoſe reputation was ſo high, and who was ſo cloſely connected with the proteſtants, from executing thoſe great ſchemes, which the money, the arms, and ammunition of all kinds he was amaſſing, gave but too much reaſon to believe he had projected; that it was neceſſary, therefore, to prevent his taking wing, ſince nothing could reſiſt him in his flight, and find him ſufficient employment within his own kingdom, by making uſe, for the ſame purpoſes as they had done during the league, of the enmity there was between the two religions eſtabliſhed in France; that this was the buſineſs of all the catholics in Europe, whoſe fears were ſo much the more reaſonable, as Henry had ſhewn by the protection he had granted to the United Provinces, that he knew how to weaken the only power capable of making any great effort in their favour; and that it was, therefore, neceſſary to act in the ſame manner towards him, by endeavouring to conſume his forces before they undertook openly to procure ſatisfaction.

IN theſe diſcourſes I was ſtill leſs ſpared than any other perſon. It was ſaid, that I had prevailed upon his majeſty to undertake greater things than any other king of France had attempted for theſe five hundred years, and that my chief aim was the deſtruction of the catholic religion. This laſt charge is the only one I deny; and it is, indeed abſolutely falſe: but they thought themſelves ſufficiently authorized to load me with it, as it was the moſt likely to make ſome impreſſion. I alledge nothing againſt the ambaſſador without foundation. Some of the eccleſiaſtics, whom he had confided theſe ſecrets to, had ſtill love enough for their country to be offended with ſuch diſcourſe; they thought they ſatisfied ſufficiently their conſcience, and their honour, by obliging cardinal Du-Perron and his brother, to whom they repeated what had been ſaid, to ſwear by their faith, and the holy evangeliſts, that they would not name them. It cannot be imagined, that the two Du-Perrons would forge an impoſture: all was too circumſtantial. They repeated but the words of the ambaſſador, who had likewiſe ſaid, that the affair was already ſo far advanced, that it was no longer to be called a mere project only; for that many good eccleſiaſtics, and friends of his catholic majeſty, had, and did ſtill labour ſo effectually for its ſucceſs, that a happy revolution was ſoon to be expected: beſides, it was not only in his court that theſe informations were given to the king. He received them from all foreign courts, where the Spaniſh ambaſſadors publicly declared, that the balance began to lean too much on the ſide of France to make it poſſible for a peace to continue long between the two crowns. It was likewiſe added, that the Spaniards ſupported theſe diſcourſes by the moſt ſtrenuous endeavours, and the practice of every kind of artifice, to deprive France of her friends and allies.

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† I ſhould have thought it more for M. de Sully's honour not to have repeated a pun ſo ſilly and full of malignity as this. *La fleche* is French for *an arrow*.

Henry, alarmed as he had good reaſon to be, with theſe informations, which multiplied on every ſide, had from the latter end of the laſt year talked of them to me; and ſent La-Varenne for me one morning ſo very early that I found him in bed. As ſoon as he was dreſt, he took my hand, ſaying, "My "friend, I want to confer with you on ſome matters of importance. We will go into my library, "that we may not be ſoon interrupted; for altho' "I have ſome touches of the gout, I ſhall continue "to walk as uſual, if poſſible." After relating to me the advices he had received, "Well, confeſs "freely, ſaid he, that you are not grieved to find "by what I have told you, your opinion confirmed, "that it is neceſſary great kings ſhould reſolve to "be either hammers or anvils, when they have "powerful rivals, and never depend too ſecurely "upon a perfect tranquility. I do not deny but that "I have often conteſted this point with you; but "ſince it is now clear that you were in the right, let "us, at leaſt, endeavour to reduce theſe rivals to "ſuch a condition, that when I am dead they may "not carry their deſigns into execution, which probably they will then find it eaſier to do than during my life, who am well acquainted with all "their arts. I am not ſo ſtupid, continued Henry, "to take vengeance at my own expence upon your "huguenots for the tricks they ſometimes play me; "they deceive themſelves greatly if they imagine I "know not the difference between my ſtrength and "theirs, and that it is eaſy for me to deſtroy them "whenever I pleaſe: but I ſhall not for a trifling "offence, or to ſatisfy others, weaken my ſtate ſo "much by ruining them, as to become a prey to "my enemies. I would rather give them two "blows, than receive one from them." "Therefore," purſued he, riſing in his temper as he ſpoke, "ſince the malice of theſe raſcals is ſo great, we "muſt endeavour to prevent it; and, by heaven I "ſwear, for they have kindled my rage, if they "purſue their plots againſt my perſon and my ſtate, "for I was informed yeſterday that there are deſigns laid againſt both, if they once oblige me to "take up arms, I will do it in ſuch a manner that

" they ſhall curſe the hour when they diſturbed my " quiet. Therefore make all the neceſſary prepa- " rations, and provide arms, ammunition, artillery, " and money in abundance; and conſider of ſome " motto for this approaching year 1607, that may " expreſs the reſolutions we have juſt taken; that if " they make war on us like foxes, we will make it " on them like lions." I was charmed to hear the king talk in this manner, and obeyed his orders with joy. Upon the gold medals, which I preſented him with on the beginning of the year, was repreſented the temple of Janus, a lily ſeemed to keep the door ſhut, which was ſtill further explained by this motto: " Clauſi, cavete recludam." Henry was pleaſed with the invention, and thought I had ſucceeded very well in expreſſing his reſolution not to ſuffer himſelf to be prevented by his enemies.

It was with great difficulty that he could help regarding as ſuch ſix or ſeven perſons of his court, againſt whom, among many others, he was continually receiving informations. The whole houſe of Lorraine was comprehended in theſe informations, which was the cauſe that Henry, in a letter he wrote to me one day, made uſe of this expreſſion: " All the croſſes of Lorraine are falſe, and I " am afraid the flowers-de-luce are not free from the " contagion." To theſe complaints his majeſty often added reproaches on me, for appearing publicly to have ſtronger connexions with thoſe princes than was conſiſtent between perſons whoſe principles were ſo different. Tho' I looked upon the injurious reports that were made of Meſſieurs de Lorraine to be abſolutely falſe, yet I thought I owed ſo much complaiſance to my prince, as to mention them to one of the family, who might give him the moſt cauſe for uneaſineſs. I did ſo, and in return received aſſurances of obedience and attachment ſo apparently ſincere, that I thought myſelf under an obligation to undeceive his majeſty in this reſpect. I intreated him to do me do me the juſtice to believe that I would, without heſitating a moment, break off any connexion which appeared to me in the ſmalleſt degree prejudicial to his authority; and ſince he permitted me to offer him my advice upon this head, I repreſented to him, that even his own intereſt required I ſhould not abandon the perſon of whom he complained: for although it ſhould be ſuppoſed, that he concealed from me ſome part of his ſentiments, yet, while I continued to preſerve ſome influence over him, I was very certain he would never carry his diſcontent ſo far, as to be guilty of any breach of his duty towards him; and that it appeared abſolutely neceſſary to me, in order to prevent giving any apprehenſions to perſons who would be ſo much the more affected with an imputation of diſloyalty, as they deſerved it leſs, to be ſilent, and wait for a full diſcovery with patience.

With regard to thoſe other perſons who were comprehended in this accuſation, the king told me nothing of which I had not been informed before him; but whenever I endeavoured to ſearch into the bottom of theſe reports, I was always convinced there had been but little foundation for them. I was likewiſe ſo well acquainted with the motive that had induced theſe liars to propagate their ſlanders, that at length I took a reſolution to give credit to none of them; and heard them without reply name ſeveral perſons whom they found a malignant joy in abuſing: not but it was certain, that the Spaniſh party at court was very conſiderable; I have been the firſt to acknowledge this truth, and none knew better than myſelf thoſe who profeſſed themſelves friends to it: but what probability was there, that in this aſſociation, which they would endeavour to keep ſecret, they ſhould introduce perſons who were known to have a long and invincible averſion to it?

To this Henry anſwered, that it was ſtill very dangerous that there never ſhould be any conſpiracy in the ſtate, which they did not entertain hopes of engaging the nobleſt and greateſt part of the court to join; and again repeated his importunities, that I would diſcover aud prevent thoſe ſuppoſed plots. Although I agreed with him in his maxim, yet I oppoſed it by another which ſeemed no leſs inconteſtable, that he ought not to think of puniſhing thoſe crimes, as yet barely formed in the imagination, and carried no farther than wiſhes; but only to be ſtrictly attentive to prevent their maturity, by ſeparating, as if without deſign, thoſe ſeeds that gave riſe to them. And this ought always to be the buſineſs of the miniſter rather than the maſter. But at moſt, what could theſe people, repreſented in ſuch dreadful colours, be able to perform? It was by this reflection that I endeavoured to calm the mind of the king: Was not his ſingle perſon more formidable than a thouſand of theirs? and were not his ſervants, whom he knew to be faithful, a ſecure defence againſt his enemies? Henry had no enemies among them whom he could not, by a ſingle word, make tremble; and during his life, there was no reaſon to apprehend that the peace of the government would be diſturbed by any revolution.

THIS is almoſt all that paſſed on the occaſion, between his majeſty and I, either by meſſages or letters, which he often ſent me by the duke of Rohan. Henry at length followed the advice I gave him, which was to trace this buſineſs through bye-paths, and act with policy rather than force. I did not behold this employment in the ſame light with others that the king had charged me with in his court: I took ſeveral journeys thither on this account, and neglected nothing which I thought capable of diſſipating theſe malignant vapours. I even offered his majeſty to devote to it all the time he permitted me to ſpend at my houſes in the country, and to purſue my enquiries, without ceaſing, near him: I agreed with him that the letters I ſent him on this ſubject ſhould be written in a cypher which it was not poſſible for any other to underſtand, or counterfeit: I ſent Deſcartes to Barrault to give him inſtructions concerning every thing it was neceſſary he ſhould do and ſay at Madrid, both upon this ſubject and ſeveral others, among which was the affair relating to a memorial that was preſented by the Spaniſh ſecretary, on the fifth of April, to the king at Fontainebleau.

In this memorial, his majeſty was requeſted to give orders for reſtoring to the Spaniards a certain capture made by Grammont, and of which he had refuſed to make reſtitution, without a command from his majeſty. To ſettle this affair, all that was neceſſary was a perfect knowledge of the law relating to ſhipwrecks; for the capture was of that nature. The Spaniſh miniſter maintained that this law had nothing to do with veſſels and pieces of ordnance, which belonged immediately to kings and ſovereign princes, and of which they were actually making uſe. Neither the law which was quoted, nor the matter in diſpute, ſeemed ſo clear to the council, as Spain would have had it. Villeroi replied, that when the famous fleet ſent by the deceaſed king of Spain againſt England was diſperſed in the Channel, they had, indeed, procured the wrecks that came to Calais to be reſtored; but that this reſtitution was looked upon as a matter of favour rather than right. The king referred it to me to decide this queſtion by the authority and examples of the archives of the monarchy.

The proceedings this year in Flanders, between Spain and the United-Provinces, will appear to have conſequences very different for us. From the beginning of the campaign, ſome hopes were conceived, that a peace would be ſtill delayed for a conſiderable time longer. Du-Terrail attempted to ſurpriſe the town of Sluys for the Spaniards: he opened himſelf a paſſage by petarding, and advanced ſo far at the head of the ſoldiers, which had been given him by the archduke for this enterprize, that he would, doubtleſs, have taken the place, if he had been better ſupported; but his ſoldiers being ſeized by a ſudden panic, fled: and thus abandoned he was obliged to retire, without drawing any advantage from his aſſault. The prince of Orange attacked Antwerp, and ſucceeded no better. So much puſillanimity ſerved only to ſhew that both parties had forgot how to make war; and gave more weight to propoſals for a peace, which were then publicly made. An averſion ſo deeply rooted as that of the Dutch for Spain, inſpired them with a deſire to make a laſt attempt (by the ſame method they had uſed the preceding year) to prevail upon us to make their cauſe our own. And this was the offer of a certain number of their beſt towns in hoſtage.

I believe I have not related what paſſed in the council upon this occaſion. It was there alledged, that it was unreaſonable to expect the king ſhould every year expend two millions for the ſervice of the States, without drawing any advantage from it: that the example ſet by queen Elizabeth afforded us a very uſeful leſſon; and that the Dutch had reaſon to think themſelves happy, if we aſſiſted them upon the ſame conditions. There was nothing ſurpriſing in this opinion of the council, except its being ſupported, as it was obſerved, only by the zealous catholics; thoſe very catholics who would have ſacrificed every thing for the ſucceſs of their project to unite France and Spain. Probably it will not be eaſy to gueſs what end theſe counſellors purſued by meaſures in appearance ſo contradictory to each other. But I ſhall explain it: they were far from believing the offers of the Dutch as ſincere as they really were; and, in their opinion, there needed no more to create diſcord between the king and the States, than to accept their propoſition. It was, therefore, reſolved to accept it, while I diſcovered no otherways my diſlike of this meaſure than by refuſing my voice.

However, it fell out quite contrary to their expectations. The council of the United-Provinces ‡ received this overture gladly, and conſented to give the king ſix towns in hoſtage, which he ſhould chuſe himſelf, provided he furniſhed them with two millions, and a certain quantity of powder, and favoured as formerly their levies of ſoldiers in France. Buzenval, as has been already obſerved, being returned the preceding winter, ſignified this reſolution to our counſellors, who in the perplexity they were caſt into by it, knew no longer either what to ſay, or what determination to take. And I am of opinion, that inſtead of mortifying I did them a real ſervice, by ſhewing them, as I did in full council, with what precipitation they had formed their firſt reſolves: I convinced them, that the different ſupplies granted voluntarily each year by his majeſty to the States, did not amount to near ſo large as that they now demanded of him: that the towns they offered were not, upon examination, a ſufficient ſecurity for our money. In a word, I taxed, with ſtill more ſatisfaction on their part than my own, all the arguments they had urged with ignorance and abſurdity. This was an extraordinary council, compoſed of the king, the count of Soiſſons, the chancellor Bellievre, Sillery, Chateau-neuf, Villeroi, Chateau-vieux, as captain of the guards, and myſelf. No one having any thing to reply, it was no longer debated whether the offered towns ſhould be accepted; and we confined ourſelves to the former terms of friends and allies of the United-Provinces, either offenſive or defenſive; the pretext of which, as expreſſed in the treaty, for the States would have it one, was to make peace between them and the king of Spain.

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‡ There can be no doubt but the United-Provinces, at that time, really deſigned, not only to put themſelves under the protection of France, but even to ſubmit to its ſovereignty. See their deliberation on this affair in Vittorio Siri (Mem. Recond. vol. I. page 418.): but ſince it was neceſſity alone which compelled them to it, this diſpoſition could not be very ſincere: nor would they have continued in it long. I apprehend the beſt meaſures which could be followed, were thoſe the duke of Sully prevailed on the council to take.

THE States, to whom this artful management gave a fair colour for throwing the blame upon us, would not admit the change; but abſolutely declared, that ſince they were refuſed the money they had occaſion for, after having been promiſed it, they were reduced to the neceſſity of making peace with their enemy, and that we ſhould ſee it concluded immediately. This was not what his majeſty expected, who had promiſed himſelf he ſhould be able to keep things as they were a conſiderable time longer, by giving the Dutch the ſame ſupplies and aſſiſtances as uſual; and had for that purpoſe advanced them the ſum of ſix hundred thouſand livres at the beginning of the year: but they took his money without altering their deſign of a ceſſation of arms. And it was apparently to prevent the reproaches they had reaſon to expect from us, that we were again importuned with the ſame propoſals of towns given in hoſtage, and of ſubmiſſion to the French domination, which they knew we had no inclination to accept. They likewiſe endeavoured to get a more conſiderable ſum of money from us. Aërſens, on his return to Paris the beginning of April, had the aſſurance to demand a farther ſum of two hundred thouſand livres. Henry had his revenge; but, although he refuſed Aërſens, he neglected no other means to prevail upon the States to ſuſpend their reſolution of an accommodation, notwithſtanding, he ſaid, that from that moment it was but too clear to him that the point was already fixed on amongſt them.

PREAUX and Ruſſy had already been commiſſioned by the king to make ſome repreſentation to th States upon this ſubject. His majeſty, who looke upon it as a piece of neceſſary policy to have ſome perſon, on his part, to aſſiſt at the general aſſembly of the States, which had been ſummoned to meet on the 6th of May, and in which they were to appoint deputies to acquaint him with their motives for agreeing to a ceſſation of arms, thought proper to order me to ſend Buzenval thither again with the utmoſt ſpeed, and aſſociated Jeannin with him in the commiſſion. Their inſtructions differed but little from thoſe which had been given to La-Boderie * on the ſubject of the ſuſpenſion of arms. I delivered to Buzenval his appointments, as formerly, for ſix months, comprehending only the expences which Franchemen, his ſecretary, might have been at in his maſter's abſence.

Affairs were in this ſituation when we heard the news of a great naval victory gained, on the † 25th of April, by the fleet of the United-Provinces, over that of the Spaniards; and almoſt immediately after, Buzenval ſent us a relation of it, which was as follows: Alvarès Avila ‡, the Spaniſh admiral, was ordered to cruiſe near the Streights of Gibraltar, to hinder the Dutch from entering the Mediterranean, and to deprive them of the trade of the Adriatic. The Dutch, to whom this was a moſt ſenſible mortification, gave the command of ten or twelve veſſels to one of their ableſt ſeamen, named Heemſkerk §, with the title of vice-admiral, and ordered him to go and reconnoitre this fleet, and attack it. Avila, tho' already near twice as ſtrong as his enemy, yet provided a reinforcement of twenty ſix great ſhips, ſome of which were of a thouſand ton burden, and augmented the number of his troops to three thouſand five hundred men,

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* Antony Le-Fevre de La Boderie.

† Other hiſtorians ſay, Monday 30th of April: there are alſo ſome other differences in the accounts of the action, but of little moment. See De Thou, book cxxxviii. Le Merc. Franç. anno 1607, and other hiſtorians.

‡ D. John Alvarès d'Avila. § Jacob Heemſkerk.

men. With this acceſſion of ſtrength, he thought himſelf ſo ſecure of victory, that he brought a hundred and fifty gentlemen along with him only to be witneſſes of it. However, inſtead of ſtanding out to ſea, as he ought to have done, with ſuch certainty of ſucceſs, he poſted himſelf under the town and caſtle of Gibraltar, that he might not be obliged to fight but when he thought proper.

HEEMSKERK, who had taken none of theſe precautions, no ſooner perceived that his enemy ſeemed to fear him, than he advanced to attack him, and immediately began the moſt furious battle that ever was fought in the memory of man. It laſted eight whole hours. The Dutch vice-admiral, at the beginning, attacked the veſſel in which the Spaniſh admiral was, grappled it, and was ready to board her. A cannon-ball, which wounded him in the thigh ſoon after the fight began, left him only an hour's life, during which, and till within a moment of his death, he continued to give orders as if he felt no pain. When he found himſelf ready to expire, he delivered his ſword to his lieutenant, obliging him, and all that were with him, to bind themſelves by an oath, either to conquer or die. The lieutenant cauſed the ſame oath to be taken by the people in all the other veſſels, where nothing was heard but a general cry of "Victory or death." At length, the Dutch were victorious; they had loſt only two veſſels, and about two hundred and fifty men: the Spaniards loſt ſixteen ſhips; three were conſumed by fire, and the others, among which was the admiral's ſhip, run aground. Avila, with thirty-five captains, fifty of his volunteers, and two thouſand eight hundred ſoldiers, loſt their lives in the fight; a memorable action, which was not only the ſource of tears and affliction to many widows and private perſons, but filled all Spain with horror.

THIS, indeed, was finiſhing the war by a glorious ſtroke; for the negotiations were not laid aſide, but were probably puſhed on with the greater vigour for it. At firſt, they would have had them conſidered as meaſures propoſed only by the marquis Spinola, or at moſt, by the archduke, without any mention made of the king of Spain: and ſome perſons were weak enough to believe, that the whole affair was conducted without the participation of his catholic majeſty. But a very little reflection would have convinced them, that it was not at all probable, that either Spinola or the archduke would have ventured to negotiate with the mortal enemies of Spain, either for a peace or a truce of any length, for both were talked of, without, at leaſt, the ſecret conſent of the king of Spain, or of thoſe that governed him. This prince had already reſolved upon it, as afterwards appeared; and if any perplexity was obſerved, it proceeded either from the nature of the buſineſs itſelf, or from the dilatorineſs of the council of Madrid; or, perhaps, from thoſe to whom, for form's ſake, he thought himſelf obliged to communicate his reſolution, which was not without ſome danger for Spain, and conſequently only taken up through an urgent neceſſity.

THAT this peace would, and would not, be agreed to, was obſtinately debated in France till the very moment that it was concluded. The king wrote me his opinion of the diſpatches he received from the Low-Countries, and ſent them regularly to Villeroi, Sillery, and me, to be examined in a kind of council. The moſt important of theſe diſpatches was that which he received the latter end of May, importing, that in Flanders they waited for nothing to conclude the articles, but a promiſe from the king of Spain to ſatisfy whatever ſhould be determined by the archduke, or by Spinola and the Dutch agents: that the marquiſs's ſecretary, who had paſſed through Paris ſome days before, was gone to require this engagement, with the revocation

tion of Don Diego D'Ibarra, which it was ſaid he had actually procured. To the account of which Henry gave me of thoſe proceedings, in a letter he wrote to me from Monceaux, the 24th of May, I anſwered, that he might look upon the ratification of Spain as a thing abſolutely certain, and conſequently the peace or a long truce: that apparently it would be under this laſt title, as moſt proper to conceal the ſhame of the Spaniards, that the agreement would be made. To which I added, agreeable to what I had ſaid before, that Spain yielded to neceſſity, taking it for granted, that ſhe did not, under this ſtep, conceal a ſnare by which ſhe hoped one day to regain all that ſhe now ſacrificed to the exigence of her affairs.

SPINOLA's ſecretary had no commiſſion for the ſcheme of ratification, as had been reported; for otherways it would certainly have arrived at Flanders, and even at Paris, before the end of July, as Henry had expected: either new obſtacles were raiſed, or Spain, for other reaſons, thought proper to delay it for ſome time longer, ſince it appeared not to be dated till the 18th of September. I was among the firſt that knew it, from the archduke's ambaſſador, who afterwards cauſed the report to be ſpread at Paris, with circumſtances very favourable for the Spaniards, which Henry would not believe. The Spaniards, ſaid he, if it had been true, would not have been ſo long without ſaying it. I wrote him, at Fontainebleau, an account of what the ambaſſador had ſaid to me upon this ſubject; and my anſwer to him, the plainneſs of which highly pleaſed his majeſty. The firſt diſpatch that was expected from Holland, and which came, at length, on the 14th of October, ſhewed us exactly what we ought to think of this paper, which was wiſhed for with ſo much impatience.

BY this his catholic majeſty not only approved of the treaty for the ſuſpenſion of arms, which had been made by the archduke, but likewiſe engaged his royal word to ratify all that ſhould be concluded by this prince, or his agents, with the council of the United-Provinces, either for a peace, or a long truce, leaving the choice to them, as if it had been ſettled and concluded by himſelf. He promiſed to uſe his whole authority in enforcing the ſtrict obſervation of it throughout all his dominions, under a great penalty; providing only, that if nothing ſhould be concluded upon by the negotiators, the preſent treaty ſhould be deemed null, and neither of the parties be capable of demanding any other right from it, than that which they had before; and that every thing ſhould remain in the ſame ſtate they were at the time of the preſent ratification. It was written and ſigned in Spaniſh, "Yo el Rey," and in a placart, with which the States were offended: but they were well enough ſatisfied with the form, except only that they ſtill objected to theſe words: "Without prejudicing the rights of the "parties," which were expreſſed upon the ſuppoſition that nothing would be concluded. They raiſed ſtill more difficulty about its being ſtipulated, that the preſent regulation ſhould take place, as well with regard to religion, as to policy and government; believing that this clauſe was inſerted to diſpute with them the rights of real ſovereigns of the eccleſiaſtic police: but the paper was, by the deputies from France and England, whoſe advice they aſked concerning it, judged fit to be received. Jeannin, who ſought to make the name of his maſter as conſiderable as he could, told him, that the king would never be brought to approve of their breaking off the treaty for a trifle, after having acceded to all, when, if the matter was well conſidered, it would be found that they engaged for nothing more than what they had themſelves a deſire to do. Therefore it was his advice to them, that all the favours they granted to the catholics in their republic, ſhould appear rather to proceed from themſelves, or through the interpoſition of his moſt chriſtian majeſty, than by virtue of a contract made with the archdukes and with Spain.

THIS was the ratification that had made ſo much noiſe [*]. Henry, when he ſent me a copy of it by young Lomenie, wrote to me in theſe words: "Time will unfold to us what advantages either "party will draw from it. Prince Maurice already "talks as if he would not receive it; and that it "would likewiſe be rejected in Zealand." The truce, in which this negotiation ended at laſt, was neither completed nor publiſhed till the beginning of the year 1609, many different obſtacles having kept it ſuſpended during the whole courſe of the year 1608. But, not to anticipate matters, let us content ourſelves with ſaying that in this it produced a total ceſſation of hoſtilities, during which they ſeriouſly negotiated a peace. The king ſtill kept Jeannin and Prieux [†] at Holland. The king of England had alſo a deputy reſiding there. His conduct, with thoſe people, ſufficiently made known his character, ſuch as I have already painted it. There was nothing to hinder him from humbling a power which was odious to him; France, although ſhe could ſubſiſt without her neighbours better than any other crown, pointed out the way to him, and offered to ſhew the example: but what can be expected from perſons who neither know how to ſeize opportunities as they offer, to execute any thing boldly, or even to deſire any thing with ſteadineſs?

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[*] See De-Thou, Le Merc. Franç. and other hiſtorians, anno 1607; and alſo the 9981ſt vol. of the king's MSS. which contains many curious pieces on the affairs of the United Netherlands.

[†] Monſ. de Buzenval died at Leyden, the 23d of September; a man of great reputation, as well in France as in other nations. "To do honour to his worth and merit, ſays the Memoirs de l'Hiſ"toire de France, the ſtates-general defrayed the expences of his fu"neral, which was performed with the ſame pomp and ceremony as "the prince of Orange's had been."

Upon notice given by De-Vic, that in contempt of treaties, and notwithſtanding repeated declarations from the archdukes, our neighbours continued building the fort of Rebuy, which would be ſoon in a condition of defence; the king ſent orders to that vice-admiral to ſend ſome troops thither, who ſurpriſed the workmen, and threw down all that they had built, without killing or wounding any perſon whatever. "Our neighbours," ſaid Villeroi, in "a letter to me, have reaſon to be offended: but "it is better, that they ſhould be petitioners, and "complain, than that we ſhould."

The Griſons, at length, determined to ſhow the Spaniards ſomewhat leſs reſpect, after having too long ſubmitted to ſooth and court them. The efforts which were made by the mutineers amongſt them, to baniſh the proteſtants, and to reduce the whole country to the Spaniſh yoke, ended in a real ſedition, in which the ſenate diſcovered, that the count of Fuentes had made the biſhop of Coire and his adherents play the chief parts, by means of two penſioners of Spain, who bore all the puniſhment: they were ſeized and delivered up to the ſecular power, which performed a ſpeedy and exemplary piece of juſtice upon them. The leagues, at the ſame time, cauſed the articles of Milan to be cancelled, the ſole tye that bound them to Spain, and ſolemnly confirmed their alliances with France, and the Venetians: after this bold ſtroke, the Griſons became more than ever ſenſible how neceſſary the advice and aſſiſtance of his moſt chriſtian majeſty was to them. The courier, who came to make theſe two requeſts, brought this good news in ſix days after he quitted the Valteline.

Although the count of Fuentes, in public, talked of nothing but revenging his maſter, and affected to make great preparations in Germany and Switzerland: yet France was not alarmed, being perſuaded, that if, by theſe vain threats, he could drive off any deciſion concerning the affair of the Valteline, he would not inſiſt very obſtinately on that of the two penſioners, and of the cancelled articles. The emperor Rodolph had ſufficient employment upon his hands in own dominions: having attempted to deprive the proteſtants of Tranſilvania of liberty of conſcience, a Tranſilvanian, named Boſtkay, had put himſelf at their head, and handled the imperial troops ſo roughly, that the emperor, being apprehenſive that the malecontents would be joined by the Turks, found himſelf obliged to leave thoſe people in quiet, and to grant to Boſtkay the lordſhip of the country.

WITH regard to the Swiſs cantons, Spain had reaſon to believe, that the leagues would not have acted in the manner they had done, without the concurrence of thoſe cantons which were in alliance with the duchy of Milan.

THE king gave the Griſons to underſtand, that he would not abandon them; he made the ſame promiſe to the little republic of Geneva, which he thought might be of ſome uſe to him in his great deſigns; he ſent her money to maintain her forces, and to make a plentiful proviſion of ammunition. His majeſty did ſtill more; for he ſent letters to Geneva, filled with expreſſions of his regard for that city, by Boïſſe, colonel of the regiment of Navarre, and governor of the city and caſtle of Bourg, and offered them this officer to aſſiſt them in the conduct of their enterprizes; and did not ſcruple to communicate to them his deſign of making Geneva a magazine of cannon, and all kinds of warlike ſtores; as well to ſerve their occaſions, as thoſe which his majeſty might have for them in thoſe cantons. On the 21ſt of April, the republic returned the king an anſwer full of acknowledgments for the teſtimonies he gave them of his goodneſs, and promiſes of giving him the moſt exact informations of whatever their common enemies might practiſe againſt them. Notwithſtanding theſe mutual good offices between the king and the republic of Geneva, Henry did not break with the duke of Savoy; but, on the contrary, the count of Garmare, envoy from this prince, having taken leave of the king at Fontainebleau, the latter end of October, with an intention to repaſs the Alps, with the marquis De-Beuillaque, envoy from the grand duke of Tuſcany, without taking their rout through Paris (at leaſt as the king thought,) his majeſty wrote to me, deſiring that I would ſend him two crochets of precious ſtones, each valued at a thouſand crowns, to preſent them with.

England was not without her troubles this year. His Britannic majeſty, after putting to death the two jeſuits, Garnet and Oldicorne, the chief actors in the plot laid againſt his perſon, which has been already mentioned in the preceding year, thought it neceſſary to have the oath of fidelity again adminiſtred to all his ſubjects, which was done with ſome circumſtances derogatory to the honour and power of the pope, on whom this prince laid the blame of the plot. This ſo highly offended his holineſs, that he ſent a brief into England, by which all the catholics there were prohibited from taking this oath.

The holy father was juſt then happily delivered from the perplexity into which his quarrel with the Venetians had thrown him: the king terminated this affair to the ſatisfaction of both parties, by the cardinal Joyeuſe, who, in the month of April, ſent his equerry to his majeſty, with the news and the conditions. The republic *, making the firſt ad-

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* According to other hiſtorians, the doge and ſenate would not give the pope any ſatisfaction; nor receive abſolution, much leſs ſúe for it. And Paul V. was extremely mortified at the indifference wherewith what he would have had eſteemed as a favour, was received at Venice. Freſne-Canaye ſaid, on his returning from his embaſſy, that the pope was treated with no more reſpect at Venice than at Geneva. It is certain, at leaſt, that all his endeavours to reſtore the jeſuits were uſeleſs. "This affair, ſays Monſ. de Péréfixe, retarded the accommodation for ſome months, and was

vances, as became them, reſigned, through the interpoſition of the French ambaſſador, the two eccleſiaſtics who were priſoners, into the hands of a perſon appointed by the pope to receive them, without any proteſtation that could be diſpleaſing to his holineſs. They, likewiſe, revoked all they had done againſt the interdict, upon his majeſty's aſſuring them, that the pope would afterwards recal this interdict in the moſt gracious form. All this was done by cardinal Joyeuſe, without any farther interpoſition of the Spaniſh ambaſſadors, than what he thought fit to allow them, which greatly enhanced the glory his majeſty acquired by this reconciliation ‡. Henry, being deſirous of giving ſome gratuity to cardinal Aldobrandin, left the manner of it to me: as I had ſome reaſon to believe that his eminence would be better pleaſed with money than rings and jewels, I decided for a penſion rather than a preſent.

Cardinal Barberini, returning to Rome from his nunciature, thought himſelf ſo much obliged to me for the ſervices I had rendered him, that he talked of them publicly in terms of the higheſt acknowledgment, which, in the month of November, procured me a moſt obliging brief from Paul V. His

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" near breaking it off entirely: for the pope, conſidering they had " been driven out on his account, abſolutely inſiſted, that the ſenate " ſhould reſtore them their houſes and effects: the ſenate, on the " contrary, were obſtinately reſolved to riſque every thing rather than " conſent to it. At laſt, the pope, perſuaded by the eloquence of " the cardinal du Perron, conceived it would be more adviſeable to " make ſome conceſſions in this point, than to run the hazard of " embroiling all Chriſtendom; ſo that they remained baniſhed from " the Venetian territories. Pope Alexander VII. by his interceſ- " ſion, has re-eſtabliſhed them there." Péréfixe, Journal de L'Etoile, Memoires pour l'Hiſtoire de France, Mercure François, Matthieu, &c. anno 1607.

‡ "It was I, ſaid Henry IV. who made the peace of Italy." The Mercure François obſerves, that Francis de Caſtro, and Don Inigo de Cardenas, miniſters from Spain at Rome, in vain endeavoured to prevail on the pope to appoint cardinal Zepula aſſociate to cardinal de Joyeuſe, anno 1607.

holineſs, at leaſt, made this a pretence for writing to me, and recommending the perſon who was to ſucceed Barberini to my favour, who was the elu of the church of Mont-Politian. I ſhall not relate here either the acknowledgements made me by his holineſs, or the praiſes, kind offers, and other civilities with which his letter was filled, ſince this would be only to repeat what I have already ſaid, on occaſion of the brief ſent me formerly by Clement VIII. both which contained the moſt earneſt entreaties, and moſt pathetic exhortation, to embrace the Roman catholic religion. I anſwered Paul V. in the ſame manner as I had done his predeceſſor, in terms the moſt polite, reſpectful, and ſatisfactory, I could imagine; except only, that I obſerved a profound ſilence upon the article of my change of religion.

But let us now return from this detail of foreign affairs to thoſe of the government, and begin with the finances, after having premiſed, in the firſt place, that the finances of Navarre ‡ were this year reunited to thoſe of France; ſo that we ſhall no longer treat of them ſeparately. And, ſecondly, that the long ſtay his majeſty made in his palaces without Paris, and at a diſtance from his council, was the cauſe that almoſt all buſineſs was tranſacted by letters. His majeſty choſe rather to take this trouble upon him, than to oblige his ſecretaries and other people in office to do buſineſs near his perſon. He, likewiſe, granted the ſame indulgence to thoſe whoſe employments, though of another kind, required their attendance on him. His majeſty's ſervice was never leſs troubleſome or expenſive to the inferior officers of the crown.

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‡ The author here undoubtedly means to ſpeak of the edict, tho' it was not paſt till 1609, whereby the demeſnes, and all the eſtates which belonged to Henry IV. as king of Navarre, and which, till that time, had always been kept ſeparate from the crown of France, becauſe that prince had granted the income thereof to his ſiſter Catherine, were united to it in an unalienated perpetuity, &c. Theſe eſtates comprehend the duchies of Vendome and Albret; the earldom of Foix, Armagnac, Bigorre, Gaure, Merle, Beaumont, La Ferre, the viſcounty of Limoge, and other rights and revenues. See the above-mentioned hiſtorians.

The king, at a viſit he made me in the arſenal, ſpeaking of the regulations to be made in the finances for the preſent year, deſired I would give him a ſummary account of all the money I had paid ſince I had governed the finances, to the perſons named in the following calculation, which I preſented to him, eight days afterwards, in this form: To the Swiſs cantons, and leagues of the Griſons, ſeventeen millions three hundred and fifty thouſand livres; debt to England in money given to the United-Provinces, ſix millions nine hundred and fifty thouſand livres: to ſeveral princes of Germany, four millions eight hundred and ninety-ſeven thouſand livres; to the grand duke of Tuſcany, and other Italian princes, eighteen thouſand livres; to Gondy, Zamet, Cenamy, and other contractors, for debts due upon ſalt and the large farms, four millions eight hundred thouſand livres; for debts contracted during the league, thirteen millions ſeven hundred and ſeventy thouſand livres; for debts due to the province of Dauphiné, Lyonnois, Languedoc, &c. paid out of the money ariſing from the Gabelle, four millions ſeven hundred twenty-eight thouſand livres; debts to ſeveral perſons, paid from the money ariſing from any branch of the royal revenue, four millions eight hundred thirty-ſix thouſand ſix hundred livres; to others, comprehended in a different account, four millions thirty-eight thouſand three hundred livres; in preſents made by his majeſty, ſix millions forty-two thouſand three hundred livres; for purchaſing arms, ammunition, and furniture of ordnance depoſited in the magazines, twelve millions; for churches, and other buildings, ſix millions one hundred and fifty thouſand livres; repairs and fortifications of towns, five millions ſeven hundred and eighty-five thouſand livres; for pavements, bridges, cauſeways, &c. four millions eight hundred and fifty-five thouſand livres; jewels and furniture purchaſed by his majeſty, one million eight hundred thouſand livres; total, eighty-ſeven millions, nine hundred and two thouſand two hundred livres.

QUEEN Margaret had inherited, from the queen her mother, very conſiderable eſtates ‡, of which ſhe made a ceſſion to M. the Dauphin. The annual rent of theſe eſtates, at the time ſhe reſigned them, amounted to twenty-four thouſand three hundred and ſeventy livres: in letting out leaſes, I increaſed them to thirty thouſand three hundred and ſixty livres. I alſo recovered a capital of one hundred and ſeventy thouſand three hundred livres, which produced yearly the ſum of thirteen thouſand and three hundred livres, that had been alienated, either by the deceaſed queen, or by Margaret herſelf. I could have wiſhed to have recovered another part of thoſe eſtates, worth ninety-four thouſand livres, bringing in annually the ſum of eight thouſand three hundred and ninety-five livres; but it had been abſolutely ſold, or given away, by theſe two princeſſes.

I UNDERTOOK to reunite to the crown-lands, all the regiſters and clerks-offices at the courts of Languedoc, which had been alienated. This deſign was no ſooner known, than La-Foſſe, and ſeveral other contractors, came to make me offers. The part I took was, to allow thoſe farmers to redeem them, on condition that, at the expiration of a certain number of years, during which it was agreed they ſhould enjoy them, they ſhould reſtore them quite clear to his majeſty; a praiſe-worthy, and in ſome degree neceſſary œconomy, and authoriſed by all the laws of public and private juſtice. The contracts made with the purchaſers imparted expreſsly a power of perpetual redemption for their own court; an ob-

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† The particulars of theſe eſtates have been enumerated before, in ſpeaking of the ſuit between queen Margaret and the duke of Angouleme.

ſervation I make here, becauſe the parliament of Toulouſe, in regiſtering the letters-patent expediated for this treaty, thought proper to except their offices and thoſe of the city. I wrote to the firſt preſident, Verdun, that the king was juſtly incenſed at this contempt of the laws, which was ſtill more extraordinary in perſons appointed to maintain juſtice and order; and that he would have cited the whole body, if ſome friends of that parliament had not ſuſpended the effects of his anger, by promiſing him an entire obedience: for, indeed, what right had the parliament of Languedoc to deſire their offices ſhould be excepted from a general rule for the whole province? and, if it was the kind of treaty that diſpleaſed them, why, ſince the proprietors of theſe offices were allowed to ſell, alienate, infeof, and transfer them to others, in the ſame manner as if they had been part of their own property, would they attempt to deprive his majeſty of this right, who was become proprietor of thoſe eſtates? To this no reply could be made; and the parliament of Toulouſe remained convicted of partiality from the fact itſelf.

The parliament of Dijon conſented to purchaſe, for the ſum of ſixty thouſand crowns, a grant for the juriſdiction of Breſſe. However, they gave themſelves no trouble about raiſing this ſum, which determined his majeſty to augment the gabelle in this province, which would, at leaſt, procure him a part of it. The parliament preſumed to ſuppreſs this augmentation by an arret, which was, indeed, cancelled by the council; but at the hazard of raiſing a ſedition among the people, who had not before murmured at this impoſt. The baron de Lux was commiſſioned by the king, to declare to the parliament of Burgundy how highly he was offended at this procedure. I adviſed his majeſty to preſcribe to that parliament a certain time for the payment of the ſum that had been promiſed by them; and, if they did not ſatisfy him, to declare, without any other form, the juriſdiction of Breſſe transferred to the parliament of Dauphiné. The word Parliament carries with it an idea of equity, and even wiſdom; yet, in theſe bodies, we meet with ſuch inſtances of irregularity, that one cannot help concluding, that, if infallibility may be hoped for among men, it will be found rather in one than a multitude.

I HAVE been always ſcandalized at the chambers of accounts, which though eſtabliſhed merely that the proceedings between the principal directors of the revenue, the different perſons accountable, and the other receivers, might be carried on with method, integrity, and truth, have been of no other effect than to teach all the parties concerned to cheat and ſteal, by allowing, in the accounts which they paſſed, a thouſand articles which were equally known to be falſe on one ſide and on the other. My ſcheme was to declare all the accounts which had been given in from the year 1598, excluſive, ſubject to review. I writ a circular letter to the chambers of accounts, the 1ſt of April, in which I told them, that, in conformity to the pleaſure of his majeſty, who deſired to be ſatisfied concerning the conduct of all the perſons entruſted with his money, I had made an exact ſearch for the accounts audited in the council from the year 1598, and not having found ſuch and ſuch receipts for ſuch and ſuch years, which I particulariſed to each of the chambers, in the ſearch that I had made into their ſeveral accounts, one of thoſe things muſt have been, either that the perſons, who were to pay in the public money, had neglected to give in their accounts, or that the council had omitted to keep the extracts or copies. To know which of theſe was true, I enjoined theſe chambers to have the duplicates of theſe accounts laid before them, to compare them with the papers of the king's council, and to draw up an extract of all that which they found contrary to the form which the king preſcribed them, and which was expreſly ſent them every year, that no difficulty might embarraſs them. I did not forget to explain to them how that extract ought to be made, with exact incluſion of all reſidues, ſalaries, coſts, charges of accounts, wages, exemptions, taxations, receipts, and other things of the like nature; I ordered them to make extracts of the accounts, not only of general but of particular receivers; becauſe his majeſty had been told, that the accounts of particular receivers, not being uſed to be audited by the council, were thoſe which gave room for moſt of the illegal proſecutions on the part of the chambers. I concluded the letter with telling them, that, in order to ſet this inquiry on foot, I neither ſent them an edict, nor particular commiſſions, becauſe they were able to do it by virtue of their office: but, if they thought farther powers neceſſary, they need but aſk them; and that they ought to think themſelves obliged to his majeſty, that, inſtead of the rigorous proceedings of a chamber of juſtice, or an appointment of commiſſioners, he employed only his ordinary officers to correct abuſes; and that it was their buſineſs to requite this goodneſs, by giving the higheſt proofs of exactneſs and honeſty.

THIS was an affair likely to cauſe a diſpute between the chamber of accounts, and the treaſurers, receivers, and other perſons employed in the payment of the revenue, who endeavoured to turn aſide the ſtroke by two means: firſt, by drawing the whole office upon the chamber of accounts; ſecondly, by declaring that the king had made them purchaſe a ſecurity, both for themſelves and their under agents, againſt any retroſpective enquiry, by a tax of ſix hundred thouſand livres, which had in effect been paid. There remained yet another refuge in the chamber of accounts, where we were oppoſed by difficulties of another kind. Thoſe bodies pretended, as they always do, that the ſovereign authority,

rity, with which they were entruſted in all affairs of the revenue, entitled them to give the laſt audit to all accounts, without being ſubject to any examination, even of the king himſelf. I conſidered this objection as no further valid than as between the chambers and myſelf; and I ſhewed his majeſty, that I was willing to undertake theſe ſovereign courts, provided that he, on his part, would give to me, to them, and the council, the neceſſary orders. It was not my fault that the affair ſtopt here.

Notwithstanding the regulation which had been made the foregoing year, for the direction of the commiſſioners ſent into the provinces, I ſtill received frequent complaints againſt them. Hanapier preſented his againſt the commiſſioners of the ſalt-office at Buzancois. I had ſome of them cited before the council, where a very ſevere reprimand was given to Tardieu. I could never make theſe fellows underſtand, that by harraſſing the people for the tax, for inſtance upon ſalt, under a falſe appearance of zeal for the king's profit, he loſt more than he gained upon the whole, by the inſolvency to which debtors were reduced; and, to tell the truth, they took this pains only for the farmers of the revenue. There was a neceſſity of reviving, with yet ſtronger injunctions, the regulations of the gabelle, that which regards the diſtribution of ſalt among the provinces; that which regards the tax, and that about the ſale of uncuſtomed ſalt: for there was no reaſon why the condition of collectors of the taille ſhould be made worſe, ſince it was an office in which no body entered but by force, and which almoſt no body quitted but with ruin. I, likewiſe, forbid the commiſſioners to uſe any extraordinary meaſures againſt the regiſters, notaries, ſerjeants, gagers, and other public perſons; or to oblige any public officer to pay the tax of his collection, without firſt ſending to the commiſſioners-general at Paris the complete ſtate of thoſe taxes, to be examined and authoriſed. I forbid them, likewiſe, to decide any controverted caſe without applying to the council. When theſe diſpoſitions were formed upon ſuch views, it was not my intereſt that they ſhould be kept ſecret, as they commonly are, between the miniſters and the perſons intereſted. By the ſame act which obliged Du-Monceau the commiſſioner of Berry to obſerve them, I made them known likewiſe to marechal de La-Châtre, and to the treaſurers of France, with whom I ordered him to act in concert.

THIS province appeared to me to want ſome regulation with regard to the marſhalſeys; part of the revenues appointed for their maintenance being embezzled, or returned to the office of the receiver-general, the remainder was ſcarce ſufficient to ſupport a ſmall number of archers: places where they were ſent to reſide were choſen with ſo little judgment, that in ſome, where they were moſt neceſſary, none were ſettled, as in Vatan, Iſſoudun, Argenton, Châteauroux, La-Châtre, and Saint Amand, where the royal authority was not well reſpected, and at the ſame time the middle of the province, where they were almoſt uſeleſs, was quite over-run with them. After conſulting the treaſurers of the province about a new method of diſtributing theſe guards, I ſent them my regulation on this head. The court of election of Saint Amand being partly for Bourbonnois, they granted to the vice-ſeneſchal of this province a right of placing there a lieutenant and a brigade, as being of little importance for the public good, on whom this privilege was conferred.

I OBLIGED thoſe who had been ſecurity for the receivers of the depoſits of the parliaments of Paris and Bourdeaux, to bring in, within four months, the declarations of theſe receivers to the office of Meſſieurs de Maiſſes, Pont-carré, Caumarten, and Maupeou, appointed for that purpoſe; and I declared, with their conſent, theſe offices reunited to the domaine ſixteen years after that date.

Cusse and Marigné, appointed for the reimburſement of the ſix hundred thouſand livres lent to the king, in the year 1598, by the province of Brittany, ſent me their final account of receipt and expence; or rather an abſtract, and an inaccurate abridgment, by which I found, that, for reimburſing ſix hundred thouſand franks, they acknowledged to have received and given out near one million three hundred and forty thouſand livres. I was already informed, by the complaints that were ſent me from that province, of the nature of that eſtimate, and ſeverely reproved thoſe by whom it was given in. I alſo proſecuted ſeveral perſons for thefts which Vitry diſcovered to me in Guienne ‡.

When it was known that the king deſigned to redeem ſeveral parts of his domaine, many contractors came and offered themſelves for that purpoſe; one of them ſent to enquire, whether the council would admit him to treat for a ſhare of a hundred and fifty thouſand livres: but he would neither diſcover his name, nor declare what part of the domaine, nor even the conditions that he would treat upon, only that thoſe conditions were very advantageous for his majeſty; becauſe he neither deſired a leaſe for a long time, nor any new regulations, but to take every thing

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† One of the principal acts of juſtice againſt the financiers, during the duke of Sully's miniſtry, was the impriſonment and puniſhment of the famous contractor L'Argentier. The Memoirs of the hiſtory of France, after having related (vol. II. p. 271.) his miſdemeanours and embezzlements, adds the following ſtory: "The laſt time the "king was going to Fontainebleau, L'Argentier coming to take his "leave of his majeſty, told him, he would ſoon follow him thither to "kiſs his hand, and receive his commands; and added, that journey "would coſt him ten thouſand crowns. *Ventre ſaint gris*, anſwered "his majeſty (his uſual oath) that is too much for a journey from "Paris to Fontainebleau. Yes, ſir, replied L'Argentier; but I "have, with your majeſty's leave, ſomething elſe to do there: "for I propoſe to take a model of the front of your houſe, in order "to have one of mine in Champagne built on the ſame plan; at "which the king laughing, took no further notice of it at that time: "but when news was brought him of L'Argentier's impriſonment "in the Châtelet, How, ſays he, is he going to take a model of the "front of the Châtelet?"

thing upon the footing it was at preſent. He made it an expreſs condition, that, after he had declared himſelf, no one ſhould be allowed to outbid him, without paying him two hundred thouſand livres. The ſingularity of this propoſal did not hinder the council from accepting it; but the king inſiſted upon this perſon's giving in his name, and explaining himſelf, at leaſt to the time and nature of the redemption, to him, the chancellor, and me. His majeſty was apprehenſive, that this unknown contractor might condition for a part of the domaine, which was in the hands of ſome perſons from whom it might not be convenient to take it. A man, named Longuet, preſented likewiſe, on this ſubject, a long memorial, which the king ſent me, as well as the propoſals that were lately made him by the farmers of the aids at Fontainebleau, ſaying that he ſuſpected, that thoſe who came in this manner to make him propoſals, in my abſence, deſigned to impoſe upon him.

THE duke of Nevers preſented a petition to the council, for ſuppreſſing the ſalt-office eſtabliſhed in Rethelois, at the ſolicitation of the ducheſs his mother, to whom the king had given the profits of this office, for a certain ſum agreed on between them: I was obliged to apply to the treaſurers of Champagne to come at a certain knowlege of this affair, which had not been tranſacted in my time; and I found, without much difficulty, the original grant to the ducheſs of Nevers. The king, when he ſaw it, was of opinion, that this family could have no farther demand upon him. However he ſent it to me, with orders to make an exact calculation, and if any money remained due to the duke of Nevers, to pay it; and propoſed, inſtead of ſuppreſſing this part of the revenue, to improve it as I had done the others. His majeſty had two law-ſuits with this houſe for the inheritances of thoſe of Foix and d'Albret, each party having a claim of millions upon the other. This affair was thought to be very perplexed: but, when I got the writings into my hands, I drew up a memorial ſo ſuccinct and clear, that the king was ſoon convinced I had not been miſtaken when I offered it as my opinion, that each party would be obliged to come greatly down in his demands.

The people of Lyons had likewiſe a proceſs in the council againſt Feydeau. They repreſented to his majeſty, that the council's refuſing to deliver them an arret, which they had already obtained, was a mortal injury to their trade. The king referred them to me, and I ſoon did their buſineſs. The good or ill done to ſuch a city as Lyons is of importance to the whole kingdom. For this piece of ſervice, the city of Lyons ſent me her thanks by the mayor and ſheriffs.

Upon a report ſent me by the treaſurers of Beziers, of the manner in which the tax of the marc d'or was levied, I cauſed an arret of council for ſuſpending this levy to be granted. I know not what the king was made to believe concerning it: but his majeſty wrote to me not to let this arret be ſigned; or if it was, not to give notice of it without an order from him; not that he intended to authoriſe the abuſes that were committed in levying this tax, but he was willing, at leaſt, to know what they were. However, thoſe abuſes ſo ſtrongly affected the money ariſing from it, that I was perſuaded if the king blamed us for any thing, it would be for having ſo long delayed to provide ſome remedy againſt them.

But I was afterwards charged with a fault ſtill more grievous in relation to the council: my enemier endeavoured to perſuade the king that I introduced none into it but perſons who, as they ſaid, neither merited nor had any regard to the duties of their employment; and that this procedure occaſioned great confuſion in the council. If what they had alledged had been true, I confeſs I ſhould have deſerved ſomething more than thoſe reproaches his majeſty made me, as I ſhould have baſely abuſed that confidence with which he had entruſted the whole management of the finances to my care. As I examined into the occaſion of ſuch a report, I judged that it could only be the ſcheme I had formed of joining to that great number of maſters of requeſts, and other men of the robe, of whom the council was generally compoſed, ſome men of the ſword, choſen from among thoſe who had commiſſions to be preſent at them upon extraordinary occaſions. And it is certain, that I never had an opportunity of talking on this ſubject to the princes, dukes, peers, and other officers of the crown, in whom I obſerved a ſtrength of judgment and capacity, and that I did not endeavour to inſpire them with an inclination for this employment, which through a blind prejudice, they thought unworthy of their birth. He only is a truly great man who knows how to be uſeful to his country at all times, and on all occaſions; and what is baſeneſs but tarniſhing by a ſoft and effeminate life, ſuch as perſons of quality in France lead during the peace, all the glory which they had been able to acquire in war?

Far from ſuppoſing that I had done wrong by endeavouring to undeceive all thoſe uſeleſs voluptuaries of the court, I vowed to the king, that it had been my intention, and thought it my duty, to ſettle this matter with his majeſty, although by letters; and conſequently with no great conveniency. I drew out a plan of a new council, and ſent it to the king, in which four men of the ſword were to ſupply the places of as many counſellors out of the eight of which it was compoſed. To introduce this change in the moſt effectual manner, it was neceſſary to have a liſt of thoſe perſons in the kingdom beſt qualified for ſuch an office, who had exceeded thirty years of age, out of which twenty ſhould be choſen, which, allowing five for each quarter, would always keep the council complete. Theſe were to attend conſtantly three mornings in a week where the council was held; and if they failed, were to be blotted out of the liſt, and their places given to others. What immenſe difference between a body thus compoſed, and an aſſembly where every member conducts himſelf by arts which have been the whole ſtudy of his life!

I SHALL not enter here into a particular detail of all that I deſigned to do. I only obſerved to the king, that if this project gave him as much pleaſure as it did me, he would be ſtill more ſatisfied with that general rule, which I believed I could ſo well regulate, as to make it poſſible for all the ſecrets of the ſtate to be ſafely depoſited with ſo many perſons of different tempers, underſtandings, and ſtations. The king was going to hunt when he received my letter. He read it, however, twice over, and ſent me word he would conſider of my propoſal: but all my endeavours to bring him over to my opinion proved ineffectual. The authoriſing great abuſes is not the worſt conſequences of a bad cuſtom; for thoſe may be at all times oppoſed with ſucceſs: but it is the giving credit to certain abuſes leſs palpable, and concealing them under a maſque of wiſdom and an appearance of public utility, ſo as to draw the approbation of princes of the beſt underſtanding. Theſe cannot be deſtroyed but after a long chain of reflections [‡], and applying remedies to them ſlowly, and one after the other: but the life of man is too ſhort to afford him leiſure for rooting up all of them. This was not the only occaſion on which his majeſty was not of the ſame opinion with me. He had been perſuaded to erect a new chamber of juſtice againſt the financiers, a work that long experience had pronounced uſeleſs and liable to abuſes; but ſtill highly agreeable to this prince, who not chuſing to apply any part of his ordinary revenues to his expences in play, buildings, miſtreſſes, and other things of that nature, which, as I have already ſaid, were very conſiderable, was glad to find them ſupplied by a ſum of money ready provided to his hand, and which the intereſted courtiers always repreſented much greater than he found it to be. I was ſo grieved to ſee Henry ſtill the dupe of theſe people, that I ſhewed my reſentment of it in full court: my plainneſs threw the king into ſuch an extreme rage with me, that my enemies conceived great hopes of my diſgrace. The adventure of the arſenal, which I have already related, added to this, raiſed them ſtill higher. But, notwithſtanding all this, I could not hinder myſelf from openly reproving the commiſſioners of this chamber, when I ſaw them pretend ignorance of the chief criminals, and puniſh with no leſs oſtentation than ſeverity ſuch as were guilty of ſlight miſdemeanors.

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[‡] Certainly nothing can be truer than what the author ſays here; nor can any thing be more happily imagined than this project, to deſtroy thoſe prejudices which ſtill ſubſiſt amongſt the nobility of France, even in this enlightened age. Why ſhould the finances, trade, or other functions becoming a good patriot, be deemed more degrading, than an acquaintance with the belles lettres, which the nobility are not aſhamed to cultivate? We may hope time may remove theſe prejudices.

MANGOT, one of the commiſſioners, acting as king's counſel, having delivered an opinion contrary to particular orders he had received from the king, upon an affair which I have now forgot, I made him ſenſible that in me he had an overſeer who was determined to let nothing paſs. He complained of me to his majeſty, and prevailed upon his brethren to join with him, at leaſt ſo it was reported to me; and with circumſtances ſo poſitive, that I could have no reaſon to doubt the truth of what I was told. The king did not, indeed, mention the affair to me; but this was far from being a proof that he had not been informed of it. I therefore thought it neceſſary to give his majeſty a full relation of all I had ſaid to Mangot, that I might not ſuffer his reſent-

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ment to go ſo far as I had ſometimes experienced. I had told Mangot, that I would not ſubmit to thoſe pretended orders from the king unleſs they were ſhewn to me. It was not difficult to give a bad turn to theſe words. When I wrote to his majeſty, I thanked him for not giving credit to the reports my enemies had made to him of me: I aſſured him, that the heat I diſcovered on that occaſion proceeded only from my grief at ſeeing his orders diſobeyed by people who expected that he ſhould diſpoil himſelf of his whole authority in favour of them, and his intereſts ſacrificed to every conſideration. I concluded with earneſt entreaties that he would pardon me, if, contrary to my intention, I had done any thing to diſpleaſe him.

However, I had been deceived in ſuppoſing he had heard of this affair: he told me in his anſwer that he was greatly ſurpriſed to hear the firſt news of this quarrel from me; that if thoſe men had ſpoken to him, he would have replied, as a maſter who loves his ſervant; that all this was only an artifice to inflame me and force me to complain, and by that means create ſome miſunderſtanding between us. "I ſwear to you, added Henry, that I have "never heard this affair mentioned: your temper is "a little precipitate, and I perceive by your let-"ter that you believe all that has been ſaid to you. "However report is an abſolute lyar: moderate "your reſentment, and be not ſo eaſily prevailed "upon to believe all the ſtories that are brought to "you. By indifference, you will revenge yourſelf "on thoſe who envy and hate you, for the affec-"tion I bear you. This is the firſt time that I have "taken a pen into my hand ſince this laſt fit of the "gout. My reſentment againſt theſe ſlanderers has "ſurmounted my pain."

Caumartin had managed with ſuch prudence and œconomy the money he was entruſted with to diſtribute among the Swiſs cantons, that he found means to reſerve thirty thouſand crowns each year, with which he cleared other debts, by making a compoſition with the creditors. Such an example of juſtice and probity ought not to be paſſed over in ſilence; and is ſo much the more laudable, as that if he had ſought a plauſible pretence for turning part of this ſum to his own profit, nothing was more eaſy than to make the Swiſs murmur at his parſimony. I did not fail to mention this conduct with all the praiſe it deſerved to Du-Refuge, who ſucceeded Caumartin.

The king had lately raiſed a company of gendarmes, to be commanded by the duke of Orleans, which he thought ſo fine, and ſo well mounted, when he went to review them, that he advanced them, together with that of the queen, a year's pay. He left it to my choice to take the two hundred thouſand livres, which this muſter coſt him, out of the ſix hundred thouſand which were every year brought into the treaſury from the profits of the taille; or that the treaſury, deducting that ſum from the money appropriated to the ordinary expences of war, ſhould pay it back again at the uſual time of paying thoſe companies.

With regard to the duties of my other employments, the moſt conſiderable, relating to the ordnance, was providing the neceſſary furniture for an armament of galleys; a work with which the king was highly pleaſed. However, I was willing to ſpare him part of the expence. In ſearching amongſt the old papers of my predeceſſors in the poſt of grand maſter of the ordnance, I found, that in the former reigns, many pieces of artillery had been given to the captains of the galleys, which they had obliged themſelves to reſtore when required; but had not done it. The council, to whom I communicated this diſcovery, agreed with me that we might commence a law-ſuit againſt the heirs of thoſe captains, and force them to make reſtitution of the pieces of ordnance lent to their predeceſſors: but, as ſeveral perſons of quality were intereſted in this proſecution, I ſent the duke of Rohan to his majeſty to aſk his permiſſion for it; ſending him, at the ſame time, a paper I had drawn up concerning this affair. The king conſented that the ſuit ſhould be begun, but not carried on with all the rigour it might have been; which rendered all my trouble fruitleſs. It was always my opinion, that it would have been more proper for Henry to have ſeemed ignorant of the fact, than to have made attempts to have recovered thoſe pieces of ordnance, and afterwards to deſiſt from them.

I ORDERED plans to be taken of all the fortreſſes and coaſts of Brittany, which I ſent to his majeſty, that he might ſee what was neceſſary to be done there. I loſt this year two excellent engineers, Bonnefort and the younger Erard, who was already not inferior to his father: their deaths grieved me extremely. I entreated the king not to diſpoſe of their places, for which ſolicitations were immediately made, till we had both well examined the capacity of thoſe who were candidates for them.

THE forcible carrying away the Sieur de Fontange's daughter, with which I begin the article of the police, relates alſo to my employment as grand maſter, ſince I received orders from his majeſty to ſend ſome cannon before the caſtle of Pierrefort, which Fontange, aſſiſted by his friends, beſieged in his purſuit of the raviſher. The expences of a ſiege ſoon reduced him to great diſtreſs, and obliged him to have recourſe to the king. Henry, moved with the juſtice of his cauſe, which, beſides, as the common father of his ſubjects, he could not avoid intereſting himſelf in, referred the petition and the bearer to Sillery and me, writing to me that he had juſt given orders to Du-Bourg and Nereſtan † to hold their companies in readineſs to march thither; and commanded Noailles to advance with his, in order to execute what I ſhould judge fit to be done in favour of Fontange: but that if I was of opinion he ſhould be at all the expence of the ſiege of Pierrefort, he recommended it to me to follow the moſt prudent methods I could in this affair, that it might be as little burthenſome as poſſible to the people. Henry alſo referred Baumevielle to us, who had propoſed an expedient to him, which, he ſaid, had more vanity than ſolidity in it; and having employed Vanterol to ſeize a man who was ſuſpected of having entertained ſome traitorous deſigns, he ſent him to me to be paid the expences of his journey.

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† Philibert de Nereſtan, captain of the king's guards, and appointed

THE good order of the police appeared to me likewiſe to be wounded by the judge of Saumur taking upon him, of his own private authority, to prohibit the exportation of grain out of the kingdom, and of ſelling it within the extent of his juriſdiction of Saumur. I got the council to cancel this ſentence, even before his majeſty was informed of it; and the officers of juſtice, by whom it was publiſhed, were ſummoned to appear and anſwer for their conduct.

THE parliament of Rouen granted two arrets, which by ſome perſons were pronounced to be very good, and by others extremely unjuſt: one was upon the ſhrine of St. Romain, which is maintained in the privilege of giving a pardon for any aſſaſſination, however atrocious it might be †: the other upon the

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pointed by his majeſty, the following year, grand maſter of the order of our lady of Mount Carmel and St. Lazarus.

† In favour of William de la Mothe de Pehu, an accomplice in the murder of Francis de Montmorency, lord of Hallot, the king's lieutenant-general in Normandy, committed ſixteen years before, in a very atrocious manner, by Chriſtopher marquis of Allegre. Henry IV. calling this affair before his council, changed the pardon granted to La-Mothe, into a ſentence of baniſhment for nine years; and to pay ſeveral fines, &c. The puniſhment, in all probability, would have been more ſevere, if the youth of the criminal had not in ſome degree alleviated his crime. The king, ever ſince the year

1597,

marriage of a man named Drouet, auditor of the chamber of accounts, whoſe hiſtory does not merit a place in theſe memoirs.

THE firſt preſident of this parliament being ſeized with a dangerous diſtemper, of which however he did not die, his majeſty ordered me to tell Jambeville, who ſolicited for this dignity, that he always deſigned it for him, but that he was not pleaſed with the eagerneſs he ſhewed to enjoy it. The office of advocate to the king in the parliament of Bourdeaux becoming vacant by the death of the Sieur de Sault, queen Margaret and D'Ornano requeſted it for the ſon of Du-Bernet, counſellor in

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1597, had greatly abridged the privilege of which the chapter of Rouen is poſſeſſed. This proceſs, which at that time made a great noiſe, occaſioned a more ſtrict enquiry into the nature of this queſtion. M. De-Thou, vol. IV. p. 160. Nicholas Rigault, the continuator of De-Thou, and all other men of learning, ſo far as one can judge from what is ſaid on this ſubject in the Mercure François, anno 1607. p. 179, made no difficulty to eſteem as fabulous the pretended miracle whereby St. Romain, archbiſhop of Rouen, delivered that city from the ravages of a monſter or ſerpent, commonly called the Gargouille; being aſſiſted in the enterprize by a criminal impriſoned for murder: from whence this privilege had its origin. The evidence by which it was endeavoured to prove that this privilege was really granted by ſeveral kings of France, could not ſtand the teſt of a ſtrict ſcrutiny; but was found full of errors, ſuppoſitions, and falſities, in the times and dates. It is conjectured, that this pious fable had its origin from a true miracle performed by this archbiſhop; but that it was, by ſtopping an inundation; which poetical licence, according to cuſtom, transformed into a monſter, beſides adorning the ſtory with many others of its uſual figures. The word Hydra, which was eaſily altered into Serpent, has ſo near a reſemblance to the word which in Greek ſignifies an inundation, that this alone might eaſily occaſion the miſtake. To recite all the reaſons contained in the pleadings, and writings of that time, or in the different diſſertations wrote ſince then on this ſubject, for and againſt the privilege of the canons of the cathedral church of Rouen, would take up too much room here. It is no wonder there ſhould have been ſo great an out-cry againſt an act of devotion ſo ſingular as this, whereby an action the moſt unjuſt, and tending to authoriſe what is highly criminal, is made the moſt eſſential part of the commemoration of a ſaint. The ceremonies obſerved on this occaſion (for they ſtill ſubſiſt, and are performed every year at Rouen on the feaſt of the aſcenſion, being called The Elevation of the Shrine) are deſcribed in the Mercure François, and in many other places.

that court; but the king refuſed them, not being willing to give this place, the importance of which the late troubles had ſufficiently ſhewn, to any one whoſe character he was not thoroughly acquainted with: but the picture I drew of Du-Bernet procured him the favour of Henry, and a grant of the place. His majeſty greatly regretted the loſs of Dinteville and Bretauville; as likewiſe that of two officers of his houſhold, Sainte Marie, and Caniſy. As he had created their poſts only in their favour, they were ſuppreſſed at their deceaſe.

THAT exactneſs which I have preſcribed myſelf, obliges me to give an account here of ſeveral ſums of money, which, by my papers, I find to be paid this year, by the orders, and for the private expences of his majeſty. Thirty-ſix thouſand livres to Don John de Medicis: the king made me take them upon the hundred thouſand livres placed in the ſtate of finances of the preſent year, to the account of his uncle the grand duke of Tuſcany. Three thouſand to cardinal Givry, and the ſame ſum to cardinal Seraphin, which remained of the revenues of the abbey of Clérac, due before the contract made with thoſe of St. John de Latran. Three thouſand two hundred and twenty-five livres to Santeny, who had lent that ſum to the king. Eighteen thouſand and ſixty livres to the biſhop of Carcaſſonne, which had been long and importunately ſolicited by him, as being due to him by his majeſty, to whom he propoſed expedients without number for the payment. The king ordered me to require a ſword enriched with precious ſtones and ſome papers from this biſhop, which he had given him as ſecurity for this ſum. Many conſiderable ſums were loſt by Henry at play; but I ſhall not ſet them all down here. He ſent Beringhen to me for nine thouſand livres, which he had loſt at the fair of St. Germain, in little jewels and trinkets; writing to me, that the merchants were very preſſing for their money. Beringhen came again ſome days afterwards for five thouſand two hundred and ſixty-five livres; three days after that, I gave him three thouſand more; and another time, three thouſand ſix hundred livres.

I do not with theſe ſums confound thoſe that were given by the king to the prince of Condé, to enable him to make the tour of Italy: Henry could not be at too much expence to inſpire this prince with proper ſentiments: thoſe which it coſt him to repair the baſtions of the gate of St. Anthony and La Place-Royale: thoſe which were paid to redeem the queen's rings from Rucelay, to whom they were pledged; nor thoſe which he expended in buildings for his manufactures, which were very conſiderable, and, in my opinion, very uſeleſs. The undertakers would have thrown down, for that purpoſe, all the houſes on one ſide of La Place-Royale; but Henry, according to the plan of the comptroller Donon, ordered them to be ſatisfied with erecting before thoſe houſes a kind of gallery, which preſerved on that ſide of the ſquare an uniformity with the others.

It was a difficult matter to agree upon a price with theſe celebrated Flemiſh tapeſtry-workers, which we had brought into France at ſo great an expence. At length it was reſolved, in the preſence of Sillery and me, that a hundred thouſand franks ſhould be given them for their eſtabliſhment. Henry was very ſollicitous about the payment of this ſum, "Having, ſaid he, a great deſire to keep them, and "not to loſe the advances we have made." He would have been better pleaſed if theſe people could have been paid out of ſome other funds than thoſe which he had reſerved for himſelf: however, there was a neceſſity for ſatisfying them at any price whatever. His majeſty made uſe of his authority to oblige De Vienne to ſign an acquittal to the undertakers for linen-cloth in imitation of Dutch holland. This prince ordered a complete ſet of furniture to be made for him, which he ſent to me to examine ſeparately, to know if they had not impoſed upon him. Theſe things were not at all in my taſte, and I was but a very indifferent judge of them: the price ſeemed to me to be exceſſive, as well as the quantity. Henry was of another opinion: after examining the work, and reading my paper, he wrote to me that there was not too much, and that they had not exceeded his orders; that he had never ſeen ſo beautiful a piece of work before, and that the workman muſt be paid his demands immediately.

HENRY did not leave Fontainebleau * till the end of July, when he went to Monceaux, where he ſtaid three weeks. Towards the cloſe of Auguſt, he went to St. Maur, where he was detained ſome days by a ſlight indiſpoſition, during which time the queen drank the waters of Vanvres. The king ſtaid at Paris all the month of September: he went thither again in December, having returned to Fontainebleau about the middle of October, and paſſed the autumn there. M. le Connetable went thither likewiſe, and was very graciouſly received by his majeſty when they met at Bouron.

IT was one of this prince's higheſt enjoyments to be with his children, all of whom he loved with the moſt tender affection †. Hearing in the month

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* He was attacked by the gout on Whitſun-eve. The fit was violent, ſays Matthieu, the pain moſt ſevere; but his courage and the ſtrength of his conſtitution would have overcome it, had he not taken a greater liberty in eating fruit than his phyſicians thought proper to allow him. He did not indulge his diſorder, but continued his uſual exerciſe; and about the 21ſt of May, being in bed with the queen, and perceiving a new fit coming on in one of his feet, he removed into another bed; and finding the motion in his removal of ſervice to him, he got up and ordered himſelf to be carried to the great canal, where he walked till he had tired himſelf to ſuch a degree, that when he came back he fell aſleep; and on waking again felt himſelf free from pain.

† Henry IV. has been blamed for ſuffering the great affection he had, for both his lawful and natural children, to blind him ſo far, as to prevent his ſeeing their faults, and acting with his uſual prudence in what related to them. This I find him reproached with in the book called Hiſtoire de la Mere & du Fils, vol. I. p. 43. But I do not know whether the anecdotes it contains are as full

of Auguſt that the effects of the contagious air began to be perceived at St. Germain, he wrote inſtantly to madame de Montglat to take the children to Noiſy; and ſent Frontenac poſt to me, to tell me that he depended upon my care and diligence to provide coaches, litters, and waggons, neceſſary for this removal. Monſieur the Dauphin falling ſick at Noiſy, his majeſty inſtantly writ me an account of it, as he did likewiſe of his recovery; for he never failed to give me notice of every alteration in his health, whether for the better or worſe; as likewiſe of all the reſt of the royal family. It was judged that the children of France might return with ſafety to St. Germain in the month of November; but Henry, not willing to run the leaſt hazard in a matter of ſuch conſequence, writ to me and Madame de Montglat, to ſtay at Noiſy the whole month *. They were accordingly not removed till the firſt of December.

Time did not bring to the family of this prince that tranquillity which was ſo often diſturbed by the pride and folly of women: on the contrary, thoſe domeſtic diſorders increaſed every day: great part of the converſation I had with his majeſty in his library turned upon this ſubject. Henry entreated me, in terms ſuch as one friend would uſe to another, to interpoſe once more between the two perſons that cauſed all his uneaſineſs. I ſhall treat this ſubject more fully in the memoirs of the following year; all I ſhall ſay concerning it in this being only to explain the meaning of ſome letters I received from this prince: one of theſe letters is

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truth as they are of curious matters: I find an appearance of prejudice in it for certain perſons, and againſt others, which gives one reaſon ſufficient to lay no great ſtreſs on its evidence.

* The comet which appeared this year in the month of September, gave occaſion to take all theſe precautions for the health of the children of France; becauſe the aſtrologers gave out that it threatened their lives. Henry IV. ſaid to Matthieu his hiſtorian, who relates it, that the comet had ſhed its influence on the daughter of the king of England; and that, thro' God's mercy, the aſtrologers had been miſtaken. Vol. II. book iii. p. 769.

dated from Verneuil, near Senlis, April 15. He there complains, that after having promiſed him at the Louvre to uſe my utmoſt endeavours to bring about an accommodation, yet I had ſuffered fifteen days to paſs without doing any thing towards it. "I ſee, purſued he, that the entreaties of a friend "are not ſufficiently perſuaſive, and you will re- "duce me to the neceſſity of requiring your obe- "dience as a king and a maſter. Do not fail then "to perform your promiſe, if you love me, and "deſire that I ſhould love you; for I am reſolved "to extricate myſelf from all theſe intrigues, which, "as you well know without my ſaying it, are but "too often renewed; and will put an end to them "whatever it coſt me. Adieu. You are very dear "to me; but I muſt be equally ſo to you, which "I ſhall be convinced of if you render me the ſer- "vice I deſire of you."

I FIND another dated from Fontainebleau, in the month of October, conceived in theſe terms: "Something has happened in my family, which has "given me more pain than any thing of the kind "I have ever yet met with. I would purchaſe your "preſence at almoſt any price; for you are the "only perſon to whom I can open my heart, and "from whoſe advice I receive the greateſt conſola- "tion. This affair is neither of love nor of jea- "louſy; it is a matter of ſtate. Diſpatch your "buſineſs quickly, that you may come to me as "ſoon as poſſible. I employ M. Sillery; but he "is unequal to the taſk. You may gueſs what it "is in which I want your aſſiſtance: this obſtinacy "and inſolence will be at length inſupportable." "For my private uneaſineſs," writ he ſome days afterwards, "it will laſt for ever: if you were here "you could not reſtrain your anger, but would "ſpeak your ſentiments freely." The reader, I do not doubt, greatly pities this good prince; and it was almoſt all that I could do for him.

THE duke of Bouillon received a ſtriking inſtance of the goodneſs and gentleneſs of Henry, when he reſolved to yield Sedan again to him, and truſt the guard of it to himſelf, by withdrawing Netancourt and the company he had placed there. The Sieur Gamaliel de Monſire, commiſſary in ordinary of war, was ſent thither for that purpoſe. His inſtructions, which were dated the laſt day of December in the preſent year, imported, that although the term of four years, during which the royal garriſon was to remain there, was not yet expired; yet his majeſty thought proper, for ſufficient reaſons, to withdraw it, and to put the duke of Bouillon again in poſſeſſion of this city; that Monſire ſhould give this company their pay for the remaining four months of the preſent year, after which it ſhould be diſbanded; and that this commiſſary ſhould take care that the ſoldiers paid all the debts they had contracted among the town's people. It being the king's intention to fulfil exactly the article of the act of protection of April the 2d 1596, by which his majeſty engaged to maintain there a certain number of officers and troops for the ſecurity of the city, Monſire was directed to make thoſe officers and ſoldiers, who were placed in Sedan in the room of thoſe that were commanded to leave it, take a particular oath to his majeſty, beſides that which by the treaty they were obliged to take four times a year at their quarterly payments. Theſe officers and ſoldiers bound themſelves by oath to ſerve the king for and againſt all perſons whatever, even againſt the duke of Bouillon himſelf, if he ſhould neglect to fulfil the conditions of the treaty of 1606: and, laſtly, Monſire was ordered to oblige the burghers of Sedan likewiſe to take the oath expreſſed in the act of protection, which differed from the other only in this, that they were releaſed from that taken to the duke of Bouillon, and by his own conſent, if he ſhould ever be capable of engaging in oppoſite intereſts to thoſe of his majeſty. All this was exactly executed. The original inſtrument of this tranſaction was executed before the notaries of Sedan, and proved as well as the two oaths taken by the burghers and ſoldiers, which were reduced to writing, and dated one on the 22d, the other on the 23d of January following.

# BOOK XXV.

THE memoirs of this year, 1608, as of the former, will contain none of thoſe extraordinary events, which cannot be read without aſtoniſhment or horror: I ſhall continue in them my uſual details of the government, court intrigues, and the private life of Henry as well as my own. The winter was ſpent in diverſions more varied and more frequent than ever, and in ſhews prepared with great magnificence. The king had ſent for ſome comedians from Italy, in whoſe performances he took much delight: he often ſent for them to Fontainebleau to play before him, and in my abſence commanded my ſon to pay them their appointments with great exactneſs. The arſenal was generally the place where thoſe plays and ſhews were exhibited, which required ſome preparations. The king, ſometimes when I was abſent, came thither to run at the ring: but he never thought there was the ſame order and regularity preſerved, as when I was there: and the queen, and the whole court, thought no other place ſo agreeable and convenient for theatrical repreſentations. For this purpoſe I had cauſed a ſpacious hall to be built and fitted up, with an amphitheatre; and a great number of boxes, in ſeveral galleries ſeparated from each other, with different degrees of height, and particular doors belonging to them. Two of theſe galleries were deſtined for the ladies: no man was allowed to enter with them. This was one of my regulations, which I would not ſuffer ſhould be reverſed, and which I did not think it beneath me to enforce the obſervation of.

ONE day, when a very fine ballet was repreſented in this hall, I perceived a man leading in a lady, with whom he was preparing to enter one of the women's galleries; he was a foreigner, and I eaſily diſtinguiſhed of what country by the ſwarthy colour of his ſkin. "Monſieur, ſaid I to him, you "muſt ſeek for another door, if you pleaſe: for I "do not imagine, that, with ſuch a complexion, "you can hope to paſs for a fair lady." "My lord," anſwered he in very bad French, "when you know "who I am, I am perſuaded you will not refuſe to "let me ſit among thoſe fair ladies, as ſwarthy as "I am. My name is Pimentel, I have the honour "to be very well with his majeſty, who plays very "often with me." Which was, indeed, too true; for this foreigner, whom I had already heard often mentioned, had gained immenſe ſums from the king. "How, Ventre-de-ma-vie," ſaid I to him affecting to be extremely angry, "you are then that "fat Portugueſe * who every day wins the king's "money. Pardieu, you are come to a bad place; "for I neither like, nor will ſuffer ſuch people to "come here." He offered to ſpeak, but I would not hear him. "Go, go," ſaid I, puſhing him back, "you ſhall not enter here: I am not to be "prevailed upon by your gibberiſh." The king afterwards aſking him if he did not think the ballet very fine, and the dances exquiſitely performed, Pimentel told him that he had a great inclination to ſee it, but that he met his grand financer, with his negative front, at the door, who turned him back. He then related his adventure with me, at which the king was extremely pleaſed, and laughed heartily

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* Pimentel was not a Portugueſe, but an Italian.

tily at his manner of telling it; nor did he forget to divert the whole court with it afterwards.

I SHALL not here have recourſe to the artifices of falſe modeſty, to inſinuate that the affection the king ſhewed for me, and the confidence he placed in me had riſen to ſuch a height, that if I had been capable of aſpiring to the ſuperb title of favourite, I might have obtained it. The reader may judge of this by the offers his majeſty made me this year; but it is neceſſary to take this matter a little higher.

AMONG the many calumnies which in the year 1605 brought me to the brink of ruin, my enemies by private informations endeavoured to perſuade Henry, that I intended to procure ſo rich and ſo powerful an alliance for my ſon †, as might one day render him formidable to his majeſty himſelf: that ſeveral perſons, either by my deſire, or to make their court to me, laboured ſo earneſtly for the ſucceſs of his ſcheme, that already I had it in my choice to marry my ſon either to Mademoiſelle de Bourbon, de Maïenne, de Montmorency, de Bouillon, or de Crequy, or into any of the richeſt private families in the kingdom, if I preferred a great eſtate to a noble name. This was one of the principal points of that long and ſerious converſation I had with his majeſty the preceding year in his library, and of which I promiſed to relate all that I was permitted to diſcover, as opportunities offered. Henry aſked me what were my views for my ſon, and whether there was any truth in thoſe reports that he had heard concerning his marriage with one of thoſe ladies I have mentioned. I acknowledged to this prince, that it was indeed true. Each of thoſe families had made me offers very capable of dazzling an ambitious man; but that my conſtant reply had been, that it was from his majeſty alone I would receive a wife for my ſon.

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† Maximilian de Bethune, marquis of Roſny, eldeſt ſon of the duke of Sully, by Anne de Courtenay his firſt wife. He was ſuperintendant of the fortifications, governor of Mante and Gergeau, and maſter-general of the ordnance in reverſion, after the death of his father; but died before him in 1634.

The king appeared extremely well ſatisfied with this anſwer, and theſe ſentiments; and opening his heart entirely, he told me, that with regard to me, there were two things which would give him equal uneaſineſs: one of which was, if, knowing the extreme concern it gave him to ſee the chief of his nobility mixing their blood with that of a burgher, or a plebeian, I ſhould ever dream of marrying my ſon below the dignity of his birth; and the other if, erring in the contrary extreme, I ſhould chooſe a wife for him either out of the houſe of Bourbon, or of Lorrain, but more eſpecially that of Bouillon. Therefore, among the five young ladies propoſed for Roſny, he ſaw only Mademoiſelle de Crequy on whom he could fix his choice; for every one knew the houſes of Bonne, Blanchefort, and Agouſt, to be of the loweſt claſs of the nobility, although otherwiſe diſtinguiſhed as much by brave examples of perſonal valour, as by the moſt ſhining dignities of the ſtate. Henry, confirming himſelf in this thought, added, that he would not have the propoſal come from any but himſelf; and that he would take a convenient time for it, which he did almoſt immediately after.

Lesdiguieres and Crequy were not hard to be perſuaded: I may even ſay, that the eagerneſs they ſhewed for the concluſion of the match did not abate, till they ſaw the articles not only drawn up but ſigned. I may ſay, likewiſe with equal truth, that in the conditions they found no artifice on my ſide: I ſought rather to acquire tender friends, than relations ſtill nearer connected. Nothing fell out in the ſucceeding years, that did not confirm me in the thought, that I had ſucceeded in my endeavours to procure this happineſs. Thoſe years were full of glory and proſperity for me, but they are paſt: thoſe friends ſo affectionate have diſappeared with my favour; thoſe allies ſo reſpectful have vaniſhed with my fortune: but what do I ſay, have they not endeavoured to complete my misfortune, and that of my ſon, by giving me cauſe to deteſt on a thouſand accounts the moſt unhappy of all alliances? Why had I not the power of reading hearts? But perhaps I have reaſon to thank heaven for my error and my credulity: the temptation to which I ſaw myſelf a ſhort time afterwards expoſed, might have been then too powerful for conſcience to have ſurmounted.

ALTHOUGH the marriage †, thus abſolutely reſolved on, was not celebrated immediately, as both parties left it to the king to fix the time for it, from that moment I looked upon the tye, which united the family of Crequy to mine, as indiſſoluble; and I was ſo far the dupe of the ſincerity and tenderneſs of my own heart, as to make this alliance one argument for not ſuffering myſelf to be influenced by the inchanting proſpect that was ſuddenly offered to my view. It was at the latter end of this year, which was ſome months after the treaty with the Crequy family had been concluded, that this temptation was thrown in my way; and in the beginning of this, when I was more ſtrongly aſſailed by it. But before I explain myſelf, it is neceſſary to obſerve, that it was ſtill by an effect of the moſt refined malice of my enemies, that I ſaw myſelf in a ſituation wherein it depended only upon my own choice to reach the higheſt degree of greatneſs and ſplendor that any ſubject could arrive at.

MY enemies then began to inſinuate to the king, under an appearance of zeal both for him and me, which he thought very ſincere, that he had not yet done enough for me; that he ought not to delay offering and obliging me to accept all that his munificence was able to beſtow, without requiring any thing more of me than what indeed appeared moſt eſſential and indiſpenſably neceſſary; namely, to quit the proteſtant and embrace the catholic religion. It was, doubtleſs, far from their intention to procure ſo many advantages for me; and I ſhall eaſily prove, that the object they had in view was diametrically oppoſite to that which they appeared to have by the propoſals they made. They had inwardly ſo good an opinion of me, as to believe that I would not purchaſe any advancement at the price of quitting my religion. From my refuſal, therefore, they hoped to perſuade the king, that he had every thing to fear from a man who was capable of making his religion triumph over his intereſt, which it was generally found no conſiderations, whether ſacred or profane, were able to reſiſt. The king, pleaſed with the proſpect of advancing me, received this propoſal with intentions ſo different from thoſe by whom it was made to him, that I cannot preſerve a too grateful remembrance of his goodneſs.

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† It was not celebrated till the month of October, in the following year, at Charenton, by M. Du Moulin, a reformed miniſter. The lady was only nine or ten years old: ſhe was called Frances, daughter of Charles de Blanchefort de Crequy, prince of Poix, and afterwards duke of Leſdiguieres, by his marriage with Magdalen de Bonne de Leſdiguieres, daughter of the conſtable of that name. The marquis of Roſny had iſſue by her, Maximilian Francis de Bethune duke of Sully, &c. and Louiſa de Bethune, who died unmarried.

Accordingly he ſent for me one morning to the Louvre; and ſhutting himſelf up alone with me in his library, "Well, my friend, ſaid "he, you have been in great haſte to conclude the "treaty for your ſon's marriage, tho' I cannot con"ceive why; for in this alliance, neither for blood, "riches, nor perſon, can I ſee any advantage for "you." Henry, it is apparent, had forgot that I had done nothing in this affair but by his expreſs commands. "I have reſolved, continued he, to "employ you with more authority than ever in the "adminiſtration, and to raiſe you and your family "to all ſorts of honours, dignities, and riches; "but there is a neceſſity that you ſhould aſſiſt me

" in the execution of this deſign; for if you do " not contribute to it on your ſide, it will be difficult for me to accompliſh my intentions, without prejudice to my affairs, and hazarding great " blame; conſequences which I am perſuaded you " would be unwilling I ſhould draw upon myſelf. " My deſign, then, is to ally you to myſelf, by " giving my daughter Vendome † in marriage to " your ſon, with a portion of two hundred thouſand crowns in ready money, and a penſion of " ten thouſand a year; the government of Berry " to your ſon, to which I ſhall join that of Bourbonnois after Madame de Augoulême's deceaſe; " and the domaine ſhe poſſeſſes there, by re-imburſing the money it coſt her. I will likewiſe give " your ſon the poſt of grand-maſter of the ordnance in reverſion, and the government of Poitou to your ſon-in-law, for which I ſhall give " you that of Normandy in exchange; for I ſee " very plainly, that poor M. de Montpenſier ‡ will " not live long, any more than the conſtable, " whoſe office I likewiſe deſtine for you, and will " give you the reverſion of it now. But to favour all this, it is neceſſary that you and your " ſon ſhould embrace the catholic religion. I entreat you not to refuſe me this requeſt, ſince the " good of my ſervice, and the fortune of your " houſe require it."

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† Catherine-Henrietta de Vendome, legitimated daughter of Henry the IV. by Gabriel d'Eſtrées. She married Charles of Lorrain, duke of Elbœuf, and died 1663.

‡ Henry de Bourbon, duke of Montpenſier, actually died in the month of February in this year, after languiſhing two years, during which time he lived only on women's milk; having prepared himſelf in a truly chriſtian manner for his death. Henry IV. being informed of it, ſaid aloud, " We ought all to pray to God to grant " us as much time to repent as this prince had." Matthieu, ibid. 772. The duke of Montpenſier was only thirty-five years old. The branch of Bourbon Montpenſier was extinct in him; for he left only one daughter, who was contracted in marriage to the duke of Orleans, ſecond ſon of Henry IV.

The recital I have made here is ſo proper to excite and to flatter vanity, that to avoid ſo dangerous a ſnare, I will not give way to any reflexions upon it, not even to ſuch as muſt neceſſarily ariſe on the goodneſs of a prince, who enforced his entreaties with acts of the higheſt munificence. My anſwer was conceived, as I remember, in theſe terms: I told his majeſty, that he did me more honour than I deſerved, and even more than I could hope or deſire: that it was not for me to decide concerning the two propoſals he had made for my ſon, ſince his ſettlement in the world depended entirely on his majeſty, and he was arrived to an age that rendered him capable of ſerious reflexions upon religion, and might therefore direct his choice himſelf: but with regard to me, the caſe was quite different. I aſſured him with the utmoſt ſincerity, that I could not think of increaſing my honours, dignities, or riches, at the expence of my conſcience: that if I ſhould ever change my religion, it would be from conviction alone; neither ambition, avarice, nor vanity, being able to influence me: and that if I acted otherwiſe, his majeſty himſelf would have good reaſon for diſtruſting a heart that could not preſerve its faith to God "But why," replied Henry, with a cordiality that ſenſibly affected me, "why ſhould I ſuſpect you, ſince you would "not do any thing that I have not done before you, "and which you yourſelf adviſed me to do, when "I propoſed the affair to you. Give me, I beſeech you, this ſatisfaction: I will allow you a "month to conſider of it: fear not that I will fail "in the performance of any of my promiſes."

"I have not, ſire, I replied, the leaſt doubt but "that your word is inviolable: I deſire nothing ſo "ardently as to pleaſe you; nor will I ever neglect any thing that is in my power to do. I promiſe to think ſeriouſly of all that you have been "pleaſed to propoſe to me, ſtill hoping I ſhall ſa-

" tisfy your majeſty, tho' not perhaps in the manner you expect."

The proteſtants hearing that I intended to break off my propoſed alliance with Leſdiguieres, and to marry my ſon to Mademoiſelle de Vendome, for this report was immediately ſpread every where, now believed they were going to loſe me entirely. They had long, with the ſevereſt reproaches, accuſed me of having laboured to ruin the proteſtant party in France, by amaſſing up ſuch conſiderable ſums for the king, and providing ſuch an abundance of warlike ſtores, which their fears repreſented to them would be firſt employed againſt them. In vain did I endeavour to convince them, that they had no reaſon to apprehend ſuch deſigns from a prince like Henry. Their prejudices made them always return to their former ſuſpicions of me: in theſe they were confirmed by the affection the king ſhewed for Roſny, calling him often my ſon; the free acceſs which all eccleſiaſtics had to my houſe; the care I took to repair churches, hoſpitals, and convents, in which I every year expended a conſiderable ſum of the royal revenues; the brief of Paul V. of which ſeveral copies had been taken; and I know not how many other circumſtances, which all at that moment concurred to perſuade them of my breach of faith.

The chief perſons amongſt the proteſtants, and the miniſters eſpecially, ſeemed to be moſt uneaſy at this report, not only becauſe of the triumph which their enemies were going to have over them; but becauſe they were perſuaded, and they even ſaid it publickly, that if I was once prevailed upon to abandon them, I ſhould not act with indifference towards them, but become their moſt zealous perſecutor. For a long ſpace of time, I heard nothing but exhortations, remonſtrances, and harangues, from that party, which were not likely to be very efficacious after what the king had ſaid to me, if I had not happily found the ſtrongeſt ſupport within myſelf. The counteſs of Sault, Leſdiguieres, and the Crequy family, exerted themſelves, in the mean time, with the utmoſt vigour, to hinder the marriage with Mademoiſelle de Crequy from being broken off, and that with Mademoiſelle de Vendome from going forward: they endeavoured to perſuade the queen to intereſt herſelf in their cauſe, and complained to her of what was deſigned to their prejudice. But finding that ſhe would do nothing in the affair, they renewed their ſollicitations to me, making uſe of every method they thought capable of keeping me on their ſide; aſſiduities, aſſurances, promiſes, oaths, all were employed to diſſuade me from a deſign I had never entertained.

During theſe tranſactions, I left Paris to take a journey to Sully, and my other eſtates; and immediately upon my return, which was at the end of ten or twelve days, his majeſty ſent Villeroi to me, to receive my anſwer upon the propoſals he had made to me. I was not ſorry that he had deputed a perſon to me, before whom I could declare with the utmoſt freedom, thoſe ſentiments which reflection had but the more confirmed. I told Villeroi, that I moſt humbly thanked his majeſty for all the honours he had conferred on me: that I could never conſent to be inveſted with the offices of perſons ſtill living; and that, although they ſhould become vacant, I did not think myſelf entitled to them, being already poſſeſſed of as many as I deſired: that as for what regarded my ſon, I ſhould never have any other counſel to give him, than to obey the king, and to do nothing againſt his own conſcience. I had particular reaſons for being ſtill leſs explicit upon the article of my change of religion therefore, I only told Villeroi, that cardinal Du Perron ſhould bear my anſwer to his majeſty. His eminence, as well as Henry, thought there was great meaning in theſe words: the king related them to

Du Perron, declaring that he entertained ſome hopes from them. And ſoon after this, the cardinal came to viſit me, and entreated me to open my whole heart to him. My anſwer had both ſtrength, and even theology * enough in it to convince Du Perron that he had been deceived in his expectations; neither his learning nor his eloquence could move me; and at his return, he told the king I was inflexible.

THIS prince, who was deſirous of making one effort more, ſent for me again; but although he made uſe of no other arguments that what the gentleneſs of his diſpoſition, and his affection for me ſuggeſted, and, if I may be permitted to ſay ſo, ſuch ſollicitations as became our ancient friendſhip, yet I was perſuaded, the danger would not ſtop there, great as it was even then, eſpecially when he began to reproach me, and called my conſtancy and firmneſs, obduracy to him; and a certain ſign, he ſaid, that I no longer loved him. At length, he told me, that this was the laſt time he would ſpeak of this matter to me; and that he expected I ſhould give him my ſon at leaſt. To this I again replied, that I would not deny him; but that I could not conſent to uſe the authority of a father to make my ſon embrace the roman catholic religion. His firmneſs was equal to my own; and the king, who would not beſtow his daughter on any of the princes of the blood, for fear of rendering them too powerful, reſolved to marry Mademoiſelle de Vendome to the ſon of M. le Connetable. The counteſs of Sault took this opportunity to renew her inſtances for the accompliſhing her grand-daughter's marriage.

ALL that now remained to be done, was to guard againſt the counter-blow of my enemies: and this I did not neglect, when I found that they were buſy in preparing it for me. I took that opportunity to

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* Theology which might be ſeaſonable at that time, but would be much out of its place here; and which I alſo ſuppreſs, that it may not be offenſive to catholic ears.

write

write to the king, telling him that I was not ignorant of any thing that was reported to him to give him a bad impreſſion of my thoughts, words, and actions: that they imputed to me what I neither thought, ſaid, or did. I earneſtly entreated him not to forget the promiſe he had made me, to declare to me himſelf his will, and what cauſes of complaint he had againſt me. His anſwer was wholly calculated to reſtore my quiet, and ſecure me againſt all apprehenſions from my enemies: he told me in it, that I, in common with all perſons in power, excited more envy than compaſſion. "You know, added he, "whether I am exempted "from it from the people of both religions. This "then is all you have to do; that ſince I take your "advice in all my affairs, do you alſo take mine "in every thing that relates to you, as that of the "moſt faithful friend you have in the world, and "the beſt maſter that ever was."

It was not without ſome reaſon that Henry brought himſelf as an example. He likewiſe had his uneaſineſſes, and his ſecret enemies; for although we no longer, as formerly, ſaw ſeditions ready to break out in the kingdom, becauſe the exertion of the royal authority had obliged inſolence and mutiny to keep themſelves concealed; yet it was but too certain, that in court, and among the moſt conſiderable perſons in the kingdom, the ſame turbulent and reſtleſs ſpirit, the ſame eager panting after novelties, which had ſo long kept the ſtate in diſorder and anarchy, were perceived. That ſpirit now ſhewed itſelf in diviſions amongſt families, and quarrels between particular perſons, which Henry laboured to compoſe by every method in his power, looking upon them as ſeeds from whence nothing but the moſt dangerous fruits could proceed: and it gave him great pain when he could not always ſucceed to his wiſh. The reign of Henry the fourth, which in many reſpects bore a great reſemblance to that of Auguſtus, had likewiſe this in conformity with his, that it was diſturbed by quarrels among his nobility; and on theſe occaſions, the example of Auguſtus was, what Henry commonly propoſed to himſelf to imitate. "Æquitate non aculeo" was the motto which, by his direction, I put on the gold medals ſtruck this year, which repreſented a ſwarm of bees in the air, with their king in the midſt of them without a ſting. I preſented theſe medals to Henry, as he paſſed through his little gallery to that which leads to the Tuilleries, where we walked together a long time, diſcourſing upon the ſubject I have juſt mentioned, and thoſe domeſtic quarrels which embittered the life of a prince too gentle and too good, whoſe unhappineſs I have ſo often deplored.

The reader may perceive, that in my memoirs of the late years, I have faithfully obſerved the promiſe I had formerly made, to entertain him no more with the weakneſſes of Henry. I carefully concealed from my ſecretaries, and all perſons whatever, all that paſſed between Henry and me upon this ſubject, in thoſe many long and ſecret converſations we had together: except the ducheſs of Beaufort and the marchioneſs of Verneuil, the name of no other woman has been mentioned in theſe memoirs, with the title of miſtreſs to the king. I chuſe rather to ſuppreſs all the trouble I have ſuffered in this article, than make it known at the expence of my maſter's glory: probably I have carried this ſcruple too far. The public has heard ſo often the names of Madame de Moret †, Mademoiſelle des Eſſarts, old Madame d'Angoúleme, the counteſs of Sault, Meſdames de Ragny, and de Chamlivault, two of my relations; the Commandeur de Sillery †, Rambouillet, Marillac, Duret the phyſician, another phyſician who was a Jew, and many of the moſt conſiderable perſons at court, all differently intereſted in theſe adventures of gallantry, either as principals or as parties concerned; that I might relate a great deal without ſaying any thing new, which would be indeed but a cold repetition of little debates and love quarrels, ſuch as thoſe which I have already ſlightly mentioned. The following circumſtance I have excepted from this rule, as it is of a nature that ſeems to require I ſhould juſtify my part in it to the public.

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† Jacqueline Du Beuil, counteſs of Moret; Charlotte des Eſſarts, counteſs of Romorantin; two of Henry the IVth's miſtreſſes. By the firſt, he had Anthony earl of Moret, killed at the battle of Caſtlenaudary in 1632: and by the ſecond, he had two daughters; one abbeſs of Fontevraud, and the other of Chelles. By thoſe two ladies, by the ducheſs of Beaufort, and by the marchioneſs of Verneuil, who ſucceſſively had openly the title of the king's miſtreſs, he had eight children, which were all he legitimated. Beſides theſe, he was in love with Mary Babou, viſcounteſs of Eſtagues, two cou-

On one of thoſe occaſions when Henry was moſt deeply affected with the uneaſy temper of the queen, it was reported, that he had quitted her with ſome emotion, and ſet out for Chantilly without ſeeing her. This indeed was true: he took the arſenal in his way, and there opened his whole heart to me upon the cauſe of this diſpute. The king purſued his journey, and I went in the afternoon to the Louvre, attended only by one of my ſecretaries,

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ſins of the fair Gabrielle, and many others. See L'Hiſtoire des Amours du Grand Alcandre.

After the death of Henry IV. Mademoiſelle des Eſſarts ſecretly married the cardinal of Guiſe, Lewis of Lorraine; the pope having granted him a diſpenſation for that marriage, and, at the ſame time, empowered him ſtill to hold his benefices. This is proved by the very contract of marriage, found amongſt the cardinal's papers after his death, executed in the moſt authentic form. Mention is made of this in the Mercure Hiſt. and Polit. April 1688. From this marriage, two ſons were born; one biſhop of Condom, and the ſecond earl of Romorantin; and two daughters, one of whom married the marquis of Rhodes. Charlotte des Eſſarts afterwards married Francis Du-Hallier-de-l'Hoſpital, marſhal of France, earl of Roſnay, &c. The commentary of Les Amours du Grand Alcandre remarks only, that ſhe was the cardinal of Guiſe's miſtreſs; and afterwards of N. De-Vic, archbiſhop of Auch. She was the natural daughter of the baron of Sautour, in Champagne. Journal du regne de Henry III. printed in 1720, vol. I. p. 277.

† Noel de Sillery, brother of the chancellor, ambaſſador at Rome,

who did not follow me to the queen's little cloſet, where ſhe was then ſhut up. Leonora Conchini was at the door of this cloſet, her head bending down towards her neck, like a perſon who was ſleeping, or at leaſt in a profound reverie. I drew her out of it, and ſhe told me, that the queen would not ſuffer her to enter her cloſet, the door of which however was opened to me the moment I was named †.

I FOUND the queen buſy in compoſing a letter to the king, which ſhe allowed me to read: it breathed an air of ſpleen and bitterneſs, which muſt inevitably have very bad effects. I made her ſo ſenſible of the conſequences it was likely to produce, that ſhe conſented to ſuppreſs it, tho' with great difficulty; and upon condition that I ſhould aſſiſt her in compoſing another, wherein nothing ſhould be omitted of all that, as ſhe ſaid, ſhe might with juſtice repreſent to the king her huſband. There was a neceſſity for complying with this requeſt, to avoid ſomething worſe. Many little debates aroſe between us concerning the choice of expreſſions and the force of each term. I had occaſion for all the preſence of mind I was capable of exerting, to find out the means of ſatisfying this princeſs, without diſpleaſing the king, or of being guilty of any diſreſpect in addreſſing him. This letter, which was very long, I ſhall not repeat here. The queen complained in it of the continual gallantries of the king her huſband; but declared that ſhe was excited to this only by the earneſt deſire ſhe had to poſſeſs his heart entirely. If therefore ſhe appeared to inſiſt too abſolutely upon his ſacrificing his miſtreſs to her, her quiet, her conſcience, and her honour, the intereſt of the king, his health and his life, the good of the ſtate, and the ſecurity of her children's ſucceſſion to the throne, which the marchioneſs de Verneuil took pleaſure in rendering doubtful, were ſo many motives which reduced her, ſhe ſaid, to the diſagreeable neceſſity of making ſuch a demand, with ſome degree of peremptorineſs: to awaken his tenderneſs, and excite his compaſſion, ſhe added, that ſhe, together with the children ſhe had by him, would throw themſelves at his feet: ſhe reminded him of his promiſes, and took God to witneſs, that if ſhe could prevail upon him to keep them, ſhe would, on her ſide, renounce all other vengeance againſt the marchioneſs de Verneuil.

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† The queen, for a long time, placed a great confidence in M. de Sully. The author of L'Hiſtoire de la Mere and du Fils, ſays, that princeſs having reſolved one day, by the advice of Conchini, to inform the king, that certain of the courtiers had had the boldneſs to make love to her, ſhe was deſirous of previouſly taking the duke of Sully's advice in regard to it, who perſuaded her not to execute that reſolution, by repreſenting to her, "That ſhe was "going to give the king the ſtrongeſt and juſteſt ſuſpicion a ſove-"reign could have of his wife; ſince every man of common ſenſe "muſt know very well, that it would be highly improper to enter-"tain a perſon of her rank on the ſubject of love, without previouſly "being aſſured, that it would not be diſagreeable to her, or from "her having made the firſt advances: and that the king might "imagine, the motives which had induced her to make ſuch a "diſcovery, were either fear that it ſhould have been made by "ſome other means, or that ſhe had taken a diſguſt againſt the per-"ſons accuſed, by meeting with ſomebody elſe more agreeable in "her eyes; or, in fine, through the perſuaſion of others, who had "influence enough over her to prevail on her to take this reſolu-"tion." Vol. I. p. 10.

All my caution was ſcarce ſufficient to avoid the extremes the queen would have run into; and it is apparent, however, that I failed either in addreſs or invention: for the king, when he received this letter, was mortally offended with it, and ſo much the more as he inſtantly perceived that it was not in the queen's manner. I had a billet from him immediately, conceived in theſe terms: "My friend, I "have received the moſt impertinent letter from "my wife that ever was wrote. I am not ſo angry "with her, as with the perſon that has dictated it; "for I ſee plainly that it is not her ſtyle. Endea-"vour to diſcover the author of it: I never ſhall "have any regard for him, whoever he be; nor "will I ſee him as long as I live." However ſecure I thought myſelf, I could not help being uneaſy at this billet.

THE king, on his arrival from Chantilly three three or four days afterwards, came to the arſenal. I was ſufficiently perplexed by the queſtions he aſked me concerning this affair; for it was expreſly for that purpoſe that he came. "Well, ſaid he, have "you yet diſcovered the perſon who compoſed my "wife's letter?" Not yet certainly, replied I, making uſe of ſome little addreſs, but I hope to give you this ſatisfaction in two days; and probably ſooner, if you will tell me what there is in it that diſpleaſes you. "Oh, replied he, the letter is "mighty well writ; full of reaſons, obedience, "and ſubmiſſion; but wounds me ſmiling, and "while it flatters piques me. I have no particular "exception to make to it; but, in general, I am "offended with it, and ſhall be the more ſo if it "comes to be public." But, ſire, replied I, if it be ſuch as you ſay, it may have been written with a good intention, and to prevent ſomething ſtill worſe. "No! no! interrupted Henry, it is ma-"liciouſly deſigned, and with a view to inſult me. "If my wife had taken advice from you, or from "any of my faithful ſervants in it, I ſhould not "have been ſo much offended." What, ſire, reſumed I haſtily, if it was one of your faithful ſervants who had dictated it, would you not bear him ſome ill-will? "Not the leaſt, returned the king; "for I ſhould be very certain, that he had done it "with a good intention." It is true, ſire, ſaid I: therefore you muſt be no longer angry; for it was I that dictated it, through an apprehenſion that ſomething worſe might happen: and when you know my reaſons, you will confeſs, that I was under a neceſſity of doing it. But to remove all your doubts, I will ſhew you the original, written in my own hand, at the ſide of the queen's. Saying this, I took the paper out of my pocket, and preſented it to him.

THE king, as he read it, made me obſerve ſome words, in the place of which the queen, when ſhe copied the letter, had ſubſtituted others far leſs obliging. "Well, ſaid he, ſince you are the author, "let us ſay no more of it: my heart is at reſt. "But this is not all," added he, taking advantage of the aſcendant, which on this occaſion I ſeemed to have over the mind of the queen: "there are "two ſervices which I expect from you." I liſtened to the king with great attention, and without once interrupting him, although he ſpoke a long time; and I ſhall here relate his words, which I took down in writing at the time. It is by this kind of familiar converſations that the heart is beſt known. "I know, ſaid he, that my wife came "twice to your houſe, while I was at the chace: "that ſhe was ſhut up with you in your wife's cloſet, each time above an hour; that at her coming "out from thence, although her colour ſeemed to "be raiſed by anger, and her eyes full of tears, yet "ſhe behaved in a friendly manner to you, thanked "you, and appeared not ill ſatisfied with what you "had ſaid to her: and that you may know I am "not ill informed, I ſhall not hide from you, that "it was my couſin de Rohan, your daughter, who "related all this to me; not for the ſake of telling "ſecrets, but becauſe ſhe thought I ſhould be glad "to ſee my wife and you upon ſuch friendly terms. "It muſt certainly be, therefore, that my wife has "ſome buſineſs of conſequence with you: for, notwithſtanding all the queſtions I have aſked her, "ſhe has never ſaid a ſingle word, or given the "ſmalleſt intimation of theſe two conferences. I "forbid you likewiſe, upon pain of my diſpleaſure, "to ſay any thing of this matter to my couſin de "Rohan: you will deprive me of the pleaſure I "have in ſeeing her here, and ſhe will never tell

" me any thing more, if ſhe knows I have repeated " this to you. Although I laugh and play with her " as with a child, yet I do not find in her a child- " iſh underſtanding. She ſometimes gives me very " good advice, and is extremely ſecret, which is " an excellent quality. I have told her many things " in confidence, which I have been convinced ſhe " never mentioned, either to you or to any other " perſon.

" BUT to return to theſe two important ſervices, " which only you, in my opinion, are able to un- " dertake, I have already ſaid, and I repeat it again, " that you muſt be extremely careful to avoid giv- " ing the leaſt ſuſpicion that you have concerted " with me what you are to do and ſay in theſe af- " fairs: it muſt not appear, that I knew any thing " of your interpoſition, but that you act en- " tirely of yourſelf: and you muſt even feign to be " apprehenſive of its coming to my ear. One of " theſe ſervices regards Madam de Verneuil: it is " with her you muſt begin, and this will ſmooth " your way to the other. You muſt tell this lady, " that as her particular friend you come to give " her notice, that ſhe is upon the point of loſing " my favour, unleſs ſhe behaves with great pru- " dence and circumſpection: that you have diſco- " vered, that there are perſons at court who are " endeavouring to engage me in affairs of gallan- " try with others; and if this ſhould happen, you " are fully perſuaded, that I ſhall take her children " from her, and confine her to a cloiſter; that this " abatement in my affection for her is, in the firſt " place, apparently cauſed by the ſuſpicion I have " entertained that ſhe no longer loves me; that ſhe " takes the liberty to ſpeak of me often with con- " tempt, and even prefers other perſons to me: ſe- " condly, becauſe ſhe ſeeks to ſtrengthen herſelf " with the intereſt of the houſe of Lorrain, as if " ſhe was deſirous of ſome other protector than

" me; but, above all, her connexions and famili- " arities with Meſſieurs de Guiſe and de Joinville " offend me to the laſt degree; being fully con- " vinced, that from them ſhe will receive only ſuch " councils as are dangerous both to my perſon and " ſtate; as likewiſe from her father and her bro- " ther, with whom, notwithſtanding my prohibi- " tion to her, ſhe ſtill correſponds, when ſhe might " have thought herſelf happy, that, at her entrea- " ties, I ſpared their lives; that ſhe ſends meſſages " to her brother by his wife, whom I have allowed " to viſit him; but that the chief cauſe of my " eſtrangement from her is her inſolent behaviour " to the queen."

HENRY then told me many circumſtances concerning the marchioneſs, which I have already related. " If, continued he, either by an effect of " your induſtry or good fortune, you can prevail " upon her to alter her conduct in all theſe reſpects, " you will not only free me from great uneaſineſs, " and ſet my heart at reſt with regard to her, but " you will likewiſe furniſh yourſelf with the means " of diſpoſing the queen to accommodate herſelf " to my will, which is the ſecond ſervice that I " require and expect from you: you muſt remon- " ſtrate to her, ſtill as from yourſelf, that it is ab- " ſolutely neceſſary ſhe ſhould do ſo, if ſhe would " engage me to give her the ſatisfaction ſhe de- " mands. That, among many other cauſes of diſ- " guſt which ſhe gives me, nothing is more inſup- " portable to me, than the abſolute authority ſhe " ſuffers Conchini and his wife to have over her; " that theſe people make her do whatever they " pleaſe, oppoſe all that they diſlike, and love and " hate, as they direct her paſſions; that they have at " length exhauſted my patience; and that I often " reproach myſelf for not following the advice given " me by the ducheſs of Florence, Don John, Jouanini, Gondy, and even what my own judgment "ſuggeſted, which was to ſend them both from "Marſeilles back to Italy. I was deſirous, purſued the king, to repair this fault through the interpoſition of Don John; but I ſoon perceived it "was too late: for ſcarce did Don John enter upon the ſubject with the queen, to whom he propoſed it by way of advice, than ſhe entered, as "you know, into ſuch an exceſs of rage againſt "him, that there was no ſort of reproaches, inſults, "and threats, which ſhe did not uſe to him; ſo "that, not able to endure them, he quitted France, "notwithſtanding all my endeavours to retain him. "But before this happened, the princeſs of Orange "thought of other expedients for removing theſe "two perſons, and propoſed them to me by Madam de Verneuil, who thought to prevail upon "the queen, by this complaiſance for her favourites, to permit her to ſee her, and come freely to "the Louvre. Theſe expedients to which I conſented, becauſe I found you did not oppoſe them, "were to marry Conchini to la Leonor, and afterwards to ſend them back to Italy, under the "honourable pretence of living with ſplendor in "their own country, upon the great riches they "had acquired in France: but all this, inſtead of "ſoftening my wife, or engaging her to alter her "conduct, has only taught her to oppoſe my will "with more obſtinacy than before; and the Conchinis, both huſband and wife, are now become "ſo inſolent and audacious, that they have dared "to threaten my perſon, if I uſe any violence to "their friends."

It was not eaſy for the king to quit this article, through the rage with which he was agitated againſt this whole party. Among many others, he recounted the following circumſtance, which, till then, I thought he had been ignorant of. My wife, knowing that Conchini had a deſign to purchaſe La-Ferté-au-Vidame, which was worth two or

three

three hundred thouſand crowns, ſhe thought ſuch a conſiderable eſtate would give occaſion for murmurs that could not fail of reflecting back upon the queen herſelf, on account of the protection ſhe was known to grant them. She did not heſitate therefore a moment about waiting on the queen, to repreſent to her, that it was her intereſt to hinder Conchini from puſhing this matter any further. The queen received this advice very graciouſly, and thanked my wife for giving it her: but as ſoon as ſhe ſaw the Conchinis, they knew ſo well how to make her alter her opinion, that ſhe exclaimed in a ſtrange manner againſt madame de Roſny, and would not ſee her for ſome time. Probably her reſentment would have laſted much longer, had ſhe not reflected, that both herſelf and her favourites had always occaſion for me. "I have been told, "added Henry, that Conchini had the impudence "to reproach your wiſe upon this occaſion, and "uſed expreſſions ſo full of inſolence both againſt "her and me, that I am ſurpriſed ſhe did not an"ſwer him more ſeverely; but, doubtleſs, ſhe was "reſtrained by her fears of breaking entirely with "my wife. You cannot imagine," purſued Henry, not able to ceaſe his invectives againſt this Italian, "how greatly I was provoked to ſee this man un"dertake to be the challenger at a tournament, "againſt all the braveſt, and moſt gallant men in "France, and this in the Grande ruë St. Antoine, "where my wife and all the ladies of the court "were preſent; and that he ſhould have the "good fortune to carry it: but nothing ever gave "me greater pleaſure than I had at this courſe, "when I ſaw M. de Nemours, and the marquis de "Roſny your ſon, arrive, mounted upon two ex"cellent horſes, which they managed with equal "grace, and uncommon juſtneſs."

Henry, after dwelling ſome time longer upon a circumſtance that had given him ſo much pleaſure, re-

renewed his former ſubject. "Be careful, ſaid he "to me, to manage thoſe two affairs I have recommended to you, cautiouſly; proceed leiſurely, and "as opportunities offer, without hazarding any "thing by too great precipitation: in a word, act "with your uſual prudence, reſpect, and addreſs. I "proteſt I ſhall eſteem theſe two ſervices more than "if you had gained me a battle, or taken the city "and caſtle of Milan with your cannons; for my "heart ſuggeſts to me, that this man and woman "will one day do great miſchief: I find in them de-"ſigns above their condition, and abſolutely con-"trary to their duty." Again I aſked this prince, why he referred to me an affair the ſucceſs of which, in my hands, was ſo doubtful; whereas if he would undertake it himſelf, it would coſt him no more to execute it, than to pronounce to two women with a reſolute tone, theſe few words, "I will have it ſo." His reply to this and the debates that followed, were the ſame with thoſe which the reader has already too often ſeen in theſe memoirs. At laſt he went away, ſaying, with an embrace, "Adieu, my friend: I earneſt-"ly recommend to you theſe two affairs, for they "are very near my heart: but, above all, be ſecret."

ALL that by my utmoſt endeavour I was able to do for the tranquillity of this prince, was to procure him ſome ſhort calms, amidſt the long and often repeated ſtorms he was obliged to ſuffer, in ſuch an unequal viciſſitude did he paſs the few days that heaven ſtill left him. One of his longeſt intervals of quiet was, during the queen's lying-in. She had followed the king, who went in the beginning of March to Fontainebleau. It was not poſſible to carry tenderneſs and ſolicitude farther than Henry did. While ſhe was in this condition, he often writ to me from Fontainebleau, and in every letter gave me account of the queen's health. "I "thought," ſaid he in one of theſe letters, "to "have ſent you the news of my wife's being brought

“ to bed; but I believe it will not be this night.” In another, “ My wife imagines ſhe will go to “ the end of the month, ſince ſhe has paſſed yeſter- “ day.” The queen was delivered of her third ſon ‡ on the 26th of April.

The king ſtill continuing to write to me as uſual, in one of his letters ordered me to acquaint him how the news of his ſon's birth was received. “ Not by “ you, ſaid he, for there I have no doubt; but by “ the public.” I keep with great care the following letter, which his majeſty ſent me by the duke of Rohan, upon hearing that my wife had lain-in of a ſon about the ſame time that the queen did. “ I do “ not believe, that any of my ſervants have taken “ greater intereſt in the birth of my ſon d'Anjou than “ you; and I would have you likewiſe believe, that “ I ſurpaſs all your friends in joy for the birth of “ yours: you will be ſtunned with their flatteries; “ but the aſſurance I give you of my friendſhip, “ ought to be more convincing than all their ſpeeches, “ Remember me to the lying-in lady ‖.”

The queen was more indiſpoſed after this lying-in, than ſhe had ever been before; but proper remedies being uſed, ſhe was ſoon reſtored to perfect health. The king took all imaginable care of her. He came to Paris the beginning of May, but returned almoſt immediately after to Fontainebleau; and the joy the queen ſhewed at his return filled him with a real ſatisfaction. He allowed, at the requeſt of this princeſs, that ten or twelve thouſand crowns ſhould be expended on buildings at Monceaux, and ſent me orders to that purpoſe. It is from theſe letters of his majeſty that I collect all theſe circumſtances. This order he repeated when the maſter-builder, who had undertaken the work, informed him, that he had been obliged, through want of money, to diſmiſs his men. I had given him an aſſignment upon a reſtitution of money to be paid by the nephew of Argouges, which he had not yet done, pretending, to gain time, that he owed nothing. The king ſent me orders to preſs him for the payment, and to advance the maſter-builder the money out of other ſunds, without referring him to Freſne, who could not be forced to pay it. Being apprehenſive that I ſhould give credit to the reports which were made me of the queen's being diſguſted, and that ſhe ſought a pretence for quarrelling with me, he, in another letter, for a proof of the contrary, related to me in what manner this princeſs had taken my part againſt M. and madame de Ventadour, who had made ſome complaints of me to their majeſties.

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‡ Gaſton-John-Baptiſt of France, then called duke of Anjou, and afterwards duke of Orleans: he died in 1660. Siri makes Henry IV. ſay, before the birth of that prince, that he would dedicate him to the church, and that he ſhould be called the cardinal of France. Ib. 568.

‖ “ I ſhould be glad, ſays Henry IV. God had ſent him a dozen “ ſons; for it would be a great pity, that from ſo good a ſtem there “ ſhould not be ſome offsets.” Mem. Hiſt. de France, ibid.

One could not give Henry a more ſenſible pleaſure, than by conforming one's ſelf to that complaiſance which he had for every one with whom he lived in any degree of friendſhip or familiarity. I received from him a gracious acknowledgement for ſome ſervices rendered to madame de Verneuil and madame de Moret, and for the methods I made uſe of to free him from mademoiſelle des Eſſarts. This young lady began to be extremely troubleſome to him: ſhe had the preſumption to expect ſhe ſhould have the ſame aſcendant over him as his other miſtreſſes. At laſt, however, ſhe ſeemed willing to retire into the abbey of Beaumont, and named certain conditions, upon which Zamet and La-Varenne were often ſent by Henry to confer with me. He gave himſelf the trouble to write to the preſident de Motteville, concerning the place of a Maitre-des-Comptes at Rouen, which the young lady requeſted for one of her friends: and to Montauban, to advance the money for the purchaſe. There was a neceſſity likewiſe for giving her a thouſand crowns, and five hundred to the abbey of Beaumont, which ſhe had choſen for her retreat ‡. Both theſe ſums the king demanded of me, in a letter dated the 12th of May: happy indeed, to get rid of her at ſo eaſy a rate!

He likewiſe deſired my advice, as to the manner in which he ſhould behave to avoid a quarrel with the queen, on an occaſion when Conchini became a competitor with madame de Verneuil, for a favour which that lady had obtained a promiſe for two years before. "I love," ſaid he in his letter, "Madame de "Verneuil better than Conchini." Which indeed was not to be doubted: but at that time he was obliged to act with great circumſpection towards the queen. This gave riſe to an intrigue at court, that afforded great pleaſure to ſeveral perſons, which I cannot better explain than by the following letter the king writ me from Fontainebleau.

"Although I have parted with madame de "Verneuil upon very bad terms, yet I cannot help "having ſome curioſity to know, if there be any "foundation for the report which prevails here, that "the prince of Joinville viſits her: learn the truth "of it, and give me notice in a letter, which I will "burn, as you muſt do this. It is this that retains "him ſo long, ſay they: you know well it is not "for want of money." The report was indeed true: Joinville had ſuffered himſelf to be captivated by the charms of the marchioneſs, who, as it was ſaid, did not let him deſpair. For a long time, nothing was talked of but their intimacy, and the very paſſionate letters which it was pretended they writ to each other; and it was at laſt confidently reported, that he had offered to marry her: it muſt be obſerved, that all this I repeat after the court and Paris. Trifling as this affair may ſeem, there were in it ſome circumſtances relating to the king, of ſuch conſequence as to make a profound ſecrecy neceſſary. If matters had really gone ſo far between the two lovers as people were willing to believe, madame de Verneuil, notwithſtanding all her experience, was here the dupe: ſhe was not ſufficiently well acquainted with the diſpoſition and conduct of a young man, ſtill leſs amorous than raſh and heedleſs: promiſes, oaths, privacies, letters, all, in a very little time, ended in a rupture, which was equally imputed to both. However, to ſay the truth, the fault lay on madame de Villars †, who appeared too beautiful in the eyes of Joinville to leave his heart faithful to its firſt choice.

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‡ She did not retire thither; or, at leaſt, if ſhe did, ſhe did not ſtay long there.

Madame de Villars did not at firſt appear ſo eaſy a conqueſt as her rival had been: proud of her alliance with the blood-royal, ſhe treated him with diſtance and reſerve. Joinville repulſed, and in deſpair, extorted from her a confeſſion of the cauſe of her rigour. She told him, that after the correſpondence he had, and ſtill continued to carry on, with a lady ſo beautiful and witty as Madame de Verneuil, it would be dangerous to rely on his fidelity. Joinville defended himſelf; it is not neceſſary to ſay in what terms. She refuted him, by alledging their interviews, and letters; one in particular from Madame de Verneuil, more tender and paſſionate than the reſt. On ſuch an occaſion, it is a cuſtom to make to the beloved lady, a ſacrifice of her letters who was abandoned. Joinville reſiſted as long as he was able; but, at laſt, put into the hands of Madame de Villars that pretended letter: (I ſay pretended, becauſe it was far from being certain that this letter, which he was prevailed upon with ſo much difficulty to ſhew, ever came from Madame de Verneuil.) But be that as it will; for the uſe Madame de Villars intended to make of this letter, it was indifferent to her whether it was forged or not.

This woman had an inveterate hatred to the marchioneſs

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‡ Juliet-Hyppolita d'Eſtreés, wife of George de Brancas, marquis of Villars.

chioneſs of Verneuil: the moment ſhe had the letter in her poſſeſſion, ſhe flew with it to the king. It was not difficult, with ſuch a proof, to force belief; and ſhe made ſuch an artful uſe of it, that this prince, hitherto ignorant, or willing to ſeem ſo, of the greateſt part of the intrigue, came inſtantly to me, with a heart filled with grief and rage, and related to me I know not how many circumſtances, which to him appeared as certain proofs of her guilt; though I thought them far from being convincing. I told him, for it was neceſſary to treat this affair methodically, that he ought to hear what Madame de Verneuil could ſay for herſelf, before he condemned her. "Oh! heavens, hear her, cried Henry, ſhe "has ſuch a power of expreſſion, that if I liſten to "her, ſhe will perſuade me I am to blame, and "that ſhe is injured: yet I will ſpeak to her, and "ſhew theſe proofs of her perfidy." In effect, he went away breathing nothing but vengeance. Joinville's intrigues with the governor of Franche-Comté ſeemed to him not half ſo criminal.

The marchioneſs of Verneuil, long accuſtomed to theſe ſort of tranſports, was not much alarmed; and maintained to the king, that Joinville had been wicked enough to forge this letter. Henry, ſoftened by a circumſtance which had not entered into his head before, became almoſt entirely ſatisfied, when ſhe propoſed to him, to ſubmit it to my judgment, whether the hand-writing was her's or not, ſenſible that no colluſion could be ſuſpected between us; ſhe not having an exceſs of confidence in me, nor I too much eſteem for her. Accordingly the papers were put into my hands, and a day fixed for the deciſion of this cauſe, which was to be determined at the houſe of the marchioneſs. I went thither in the morning, and was introduced into her cloſet, where ſhe waited both for her accuſer and her judge; in an undreſs that expreſſed great negligence.

I had already begun to queſtion her, when Henry came in with Montbazon: I am not permitted to relate the reſt; for the king would not ſuffer any of thoſe that came with him to be preſent at this conference: however, they heard us talk very loud, and the marchioneſs weep. The king went from her apartment into another, and deſiring all that were there to withdraw, took me to one of the moſt diſtant windows to examine the papers with him more exactly. This was not done ſo calmly, but thoſe that were without might hear us diſcourſe with great heat; and that I went often backwards and forwards, between the lady's cloſet and the place where the king ſtood. The concluſion of this ſcene was, that the king went away entirely ſatisfied with his miſtreſs ‡. As for Joinville, whatever part he had acted, it was happy for him that it was Henry with whom he had to do; and the more ſo, as he engaged, almoſt immediately afterwards, in another intrigue of the ſame nature with Madame de Moret ||, which I was not acquainted with.

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‡ In the Memoirs of Baſſompierre, vol. I. p. 92. I find the following account of this intrigue: "A few days afterwards happened "the difference between madam de Verneuil and the king, which "had its origin from madam de Villars having ſhewn the king ſome "letters which madam de Verneuil had wrote to the prince of Joinville, and which he had given her. The affair was accommodated "by the duke of Eguillon's bringing to the king a clerk of Bigot, "who confeſſed that he had forged thoſe letters; and the prince of "Joinville was baniſhed." Our Memoirs mention this to have happened this year; but it was in the year 1603, upon the return of Henry IV. from his journey to Metz.

|| The Memoirs for the Hiſtory of France give this account of it: "The prince of Joinville having made his addreſſes to one of the "king's favourites, who was one of thoſe whom Tertullian calls "*Publicarum libidinum victimæ*; ſhe, to excuſe herſelf, alledged the "prince had given her a promiſe of marriage. He thereby incurred "the king's diſpleaſure, who commanded him either to baniſh him"ſelf, or marry the lady. At firſt, he put on the appearance of being "willing to marry her, and to go on with what he had begun: but "at laſt he declared, that he had never any ſuch intention; and ſaid "aloud, That, the king only excepted, if any gentleman, or any one "of whatever quality, had given him ſuch language, he would have "ſet both his feet on his neck. The count de Lude hearing of this, "ſaid it was the ſentiment of a hangman. Madam de Guiſe, in

The count of Sommerive ‡ was likewiſe hardy enough to become the rival of his maſter, and to make the counteſs of Moret the object of his gallantries, with whom he began by a propoſal of marriage; and it was believed, that he had given her a promiſe in writing: for to a young man tranſported with paſſion, the one coſts as little as the other. The king, when he was informed of it, approved of the match; and employed La Borde, a gentleman whom he knew to be more faithfully devoted to him than any of thoſe that reſorted to the counteſs's houſe, to diſcover if they were ſincere on both ſides, and to take care to prevent the youth from tranſgreſſing the bounds of his duty. La Bord's report was not very favourable to the count of Sommerive, who, at firſt, had ſome thoughts of murdering this troubleſome Argus; and meeting him one day as he was coming from church, he fell upon him ſo furiouſly, that La Borde, to ſave his life, was obliged to have recourſe to flight. The king commanded me to examine into this fact, which, in his fury, he called an aſſaſſination. The time Sommerive had choſen for it, and the diſreſpect it ſhewed for the king, rendered him ſtill more guilty.

However, it being neceſſary to obſerve ſome caution,

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" tears, came and threw herſelf at the king's feet, and, as if ſhe were
" in the extremeſt deſpair, begged of his majeſty to kill her. To
" which the king anſwered, I have never killed any ladies, and I do
" not know how to go about it. Thoſe, adds he, who were eſteem-
" ed to be the moſt knowing at court, gave out it was the king him-
" ſelf who had induced the counteſs to do what ſhe did."

" I gave notice, ſays Baſſompierre in his Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 205,
" to the prince of Joinville, and madame de Moret, of the deſign the
" king had to ſurpriſe them together. They were not found together;
" but the king diſcovered enough to forbid Mon. de Chevreuſe, the
" name the prince of Joinville then bore, the court; and would have
" done the ſame by her, had ſhe not been on the point of being
" brought to bed: but time made up this difference." Henry gave orders to take the prince of Joinville into cuſtody; but he eſcaped out of the kingdom, and did not return till after the death of Henry IV. his family having never been able to prevail on the king to recal on him. Galanteries des Rois de France.

‡ Charles-Emanuel de Lorrain, ſecond ſon of the duke of Maïenne.

caution, though it were only in conſideration of La Borde; for the king was ſenſible, that Sommerive was a far more dangerous perſon to deal with than Joinville; La Varenne came to me from his majeſty, to conſult upon proper meaſures for managing this affair, without wounding his own authority; and we agreed that the beſt expedient was, to prevail upon the duke of Maïenne himſelf to do the king juſtice, with regard to the offence his ſon had committed againſt him: I was charged with this meſſage, and the conduct of it wholly left to my judgment. I found the duke of Maïenne ſo ill with a fit of the gout, which was attended with a high fever, that there was no poſſibility of ſpeaking to him, eſpecially upon ſuch a ſubject. The duke of Eguillon †, Sommerive's eldeſt brother, told me, that this action of his brother was not more deeply reſented by any perſon than by his own family: that it had been the cauſe of his father's illneſs; and wiſhed himſelf dead, as well as this unworthy brother, rather than to become the reproach of their relations. He added, that the king himſelf knew but too well how Sommerive treated them all, though, for the honour of the family, they concealed his behaviour from the public: that this laſt offence gave them inconceivable affliction. And after entreating me to aſſiſt him with my advice, he declared that he would go himſelf, if his majeſty required it, to receive his orders, and would execute them, whatever they were, upon his own brother: and that, for himſelf, he would rather loſe his life than fail in the oath he had taken, to obey his maſter with all the fidelity and zeal of a ſervant and ſubject.

To conceal from D'Eguillon that I had been commiſſioned by the king to come thither, I told him, that I would not adviſe him to go to his majeſty, becauſe I did not know whether he was yet informed of the affair; but that, in twenty-four hours, I would give him ſuch advice as I thought moſt for his intereſt (for ſo long it required to ſend to Fontainebleau to know his majeſty's intentions.) I, therefore contented myſelf, at preſent, with repreſenting to him the attrociouſneſs of Sommerive's crime, and the fatal conſequences that might attend it. He exclaimed againſt it himſelf, with a ſincerity which I thought it my duty to relate to his majeſty, telling him, at the ſame time, that he had only to pronounce what ſatisfaction he required, the family fearing nothing ſo much as the loſs of his favour.

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† Henry de Lorraine, duke of Eguillon, and afterwards of Maïenne.

Henry ſent me notice, by Villeroi, that he was ſatisfied with what D'Eguillon had ſaid to me, although he was convinced that all this rage againſt Sommerive would not hinder them carrying it with a high hand in public, as they had already done upon other occaſions of the ſame kind; he ordered me to make the whole houſe of Lorrain ſenſible how greatly they were indebted to his indulgence, in referring to them the chaſtiſement of Sommerive; that he expected they would immediately oblige him to retire, though it were only to Soiſſons, as being unworthy to ſtay in a place where his majeſty was; that D'Eguillon ſhould come and tell him what reſolution they had taken, in the mean while, till he ſhould himſelf name the puniſhment; offer to be ſecurity for Sommerive's appearance, and even conduct him to the Baſtile, if ſuch was the king's pleaſure; or make him leave the kingdom, and not return till after the expiration of two or three years. Henry inſinuated, that it was this laſt part he ſhould take, although it required ſome conſideration, on account of Sommerive's intrigues with Spain. The king had been told that this young nobleman had endeavoured to prevail upon the count of St. Paul to go with him to Holland, with an intention to enter into the ſervice of the archdukes; that he had taken the advice of Du Terrail, and, as ſoon as the fact was committed, had ſent ſome of his ſervants to Flanders. It was neither to that country, nor to any other dependant upon the Spaniards, which his majeſty choſe he ſhould retire to, but towards Nancy, from whence he might paſs to the emperor's court, or into Hungary, that country being moſt agreeable to his majeſty.

To this letter of Villeroi's was added a ſhort billet, addreſſed to me, by the king, and contained only theſe few words: "I muſt tell you, that the "beſt of the whole race is worth but little: God "grant I may be miſtaken." However, he was not diſpleaſed with D'Eguillon's behaviour, when he waited on him at Fontainebleau: his majeſty only thought that he ſhewed ſome little affectation in endeavouring to extenuate his brother's offence. The king told him, that it was his will Sommerive ſhould retire to Lorrain, and not ſtir from thence without his permiſſion. I was commiſſioned to notify this order to the duke of Maïenne, his majeſty being willing, at the entreaties of D'Eguillon, to ſpare him the ungrateful taſk.

D'EGUILLON did not make a proper application of the leſſons the king gave him in relation to his brother. No one was ignorant of the affection his majeſty had for Balagny †: he had lately given a proof of it by maintaining him in the poſſeſſion of the greffes of Bourdeaux, of which the contractors endeavoured to deprive him. D'Eguillon had the imprudence to quarrel with him upon ſome affairs of gallantry indeed, and the baſeneſs, ſome time after, to attack him when he was almoſt alone, while himſelf was accompanied with a body of armed men. The prejudice Henry already had to this family increaſed the indignation he felt for this attempt. In the firſt emotions of his anger, he writ to me, that being reſolved to puniſh D'Eguillon for it, he earneſtly entreated me to forget the friendſhip I had hitherto had for this family, ſince I ought to ſet a much higher value upon that of my king. This letter afforded me a proof of this prince's great knowledge of mankind: he predicted to me, that all the obligations I ſhould confer on D'Eguillon would be forgot, if, through any change of my fortune, I ſhould be incapable of adding to them: and this prediction has been fully accompliſhed.

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† Damien de Montluc, lord of Balagny, ſon of John prince of Cambray, and of Renée de Clermont de Buſſy d'Amboiſe: he was, at that time, only 25 or 26 years old, and unmarried.

HOWEVER, I was then perſuaded of the contrary, and liſtening only to what my friendſhip for the whole houſe of Lorrain ſuggeſted to me, the king's letter, which his courier, meeting me at my return from Sully, delivered to me at Montargis, did not hinder me from anſwering his majeſty immediately, and that only to do the very thing he had forbid me, which was the ſoliciting a pardon for D'Eguillon, without deferring it till I went to court, which I propoſed to do immediately afterwards. My letter was not unuſeful to D'Eguillon, when he preſented himſelf to his majeſty to clear himſelf of the charge. This is what the king himſelf writ me, May 22d. "Your letter came very ſeaſonably; "for he arrived this night, and talked to me in "ſuch a manner, that I was ſcarce able to reſtrain "my anger. Certainly this youth grows very in-"ſolent." I did not however abandon his intereſt. When I went to Fontainebleau, I found the king's reſentment ſo violent, that there was a neceſſity for all the perſeverance the warmeſt friendſhip is capable of to vanquiſh it. I obtained, at length, that this affair ſhould be left to me, to make up in the beſt manner I could. I ſurmounted, with the ſame ſteadineſs of friendſhip, many other difficulties, which were not inferior to this; and believed that all was forgotten on both ſides, congratulating myſelf upon my ſucceſs when I heard in what manner D'Eguillon talked of this good office in public, and the gratitude he expreſſed to me for it.

Yet this man, without faith and without humanity, diſhonoured himſelf and me, a ſhort time afterwards, by completing the crime, which I had ſo lately obtained his pardon for attempting, and procured Balagny to be aſſaſſinated. The letter his majeſty writ to me upon it, will give the reader the trueſt notion of this crime. "My friend, you "have doubtleſs heard of the wicked action com- "mitted upon Balagny: I would not write you an "account of it, till I had heard all the informa- "tions; for, on ſuch occaſions, the parties are not "to be believed. Things are worſe than you can "imagine: he has violated the promiſe he made "to you, and irreparably wounded his honour, by "the extreme cowardice and cruelty of falling upon "a ſingle man with numbers. I had rather a ſon "of mine were dead, than that he ſhould be guilty "of ſuch an action. The bearer will tell you the "particulars. The relations of both have attempt- "ed to fight; but I have taken care to prevent it. "Adieu. I love you ſincerely, and with this truth "I conclude."

But Henry (for I felt too much horror at this indignity to dwell on it any longer) was himſelf in fact to blame, ſince it was through his eaſineſs of temper, that the rage of duelling had ſpread through the court, the city, and over the whole kingdom†; and to ſuch exceſs was it carried, that it gave me, and even his majeſty himſelf, infinite fatigue and trouble, to compoſe differences, and to hinder, each day, the diſputants from proceeding to the laſt extremities. Before the affair of Balagny happened, the baron de Courtaumer came to tell me, that he was buſy in reconciling his two nephews, M. the prince of Conti, and the prince of Joinville. Montigny quarrelled, for no cauſe, with D'Epernon, whom I was ordered to pacify. "For you know," ſaid Henry in his letter, "that he will always be the "maſter." The forcibly carrying away of a young lady occaſioned a combat between the families of La-Force and St. Germain. St. Germain, the ſon, who was the raviſher, being ſent for by the chancellor, in the king's name, left Paris, inſtead of obeying, and went to his father, which made his majeſty apprehenſive that he would divulge, amongſt foreigners, ſome important orders which he could not be ignorant that he had given to La-Force.

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† Lomenie computed, in 1607, how many French gentlemen had been killed in duels, ſince Henry IV. came to the crown. The number was found to be full 4000. Mem. Hiſt. de Fr. ibid.

THIS eaſineſs of temper in the king was the true cauſe of that licentiouſneſs and ſedition which had infected the court and the kingdom, and which his majeſty ſo deeply lamented: the gentry had taken it from the nobility, and the nobility from the princes of the blood. The count of Soiſſons publickly ſhewed his diſcontent. The prince of Condé, by indiſcreet ſallies, ſome indeed only worthy of laughter, and others of conſequence enough to give great cauſe of uneaſineſs to his majeſty, almoſt exhauſted his patience. It was believed, that marriage would cure his impetuoſity and wildneſs; and mademoiſelle de Montmorency * was the wife the king choſe for him. It was this marriage that completed Henry's domeſtic troubles, as we ſhall ſee in the following year.

THE difficulties that aroſe concerning the marriage of Mademoiſelle de Mercœur increaſed his diſlike of the whole houſe of Lorrain. She had been contracted to M. de Vendome, in the year 1598, when the king took a journey to Brittany. The parties were now of age to conſummate the marriage; but the mother and grand-mother of the young lady had taken care to inſpire her with ſuch an averſion for M. de Vendome, that ſhe would not

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* Margaret Charlotte of Montmorency.

ſuffer him to ſpeak to her. The prince of Condé, who was not then married, would have been a more agreeable match, in all their opinions; but, ſince that could not take place, the ducheſs was unwilling to let her daughter's large eſtates go out of the family. The king could not help thinking, that the dukes of Guiſe and Maïenne contributed to ſupport this lady in her obſtinate reſiſtance to his will. I often combated this opinion, and repreſented to his majeſty, that on this occaſion, he did not do them juſtice, which in the end he had reaſon to be convinced of, by the little oppoſition they made to his intentions, when they were declared to them by the marquis D'Oraiſon, whom they had ſent to his majeſty.

THE readieſt and the ſureſt way for Henry to accompliſh this marriage, was to have aſſumed his authority, and given them an abſolute command to fulfil the contract: but this prince † had leſs inclination to take ſuch meaſures on this occaſion than on any other. It only remained then, either to endeavour, by gentleneſs and perſuaſion, to prevail upon the ladies, or to have recourſe to the deciſion of the law, which muſt undoubtedly have been in his favour, were his majeſty to be treated with the ſame impartiality as any private man: but this was to draw it out into length, by the delays and tricks of the courts of juſtice. It would take up a conſiderable time to bring up only the letters of attorney from Lorrain, without which the proceedings could not be begun: and it would be two months before the affair could be terminated, although his majeſty ſhould interpoſe his authority, to oblige them to diſpenſe with the accuſtomed formalities in his favour. However, gentle methods were far more eligible, ſince not only the union of two perſons, but that of ſeveral families, were concerned in it. There ſtill remained many reſources for a young woman forced from her relations, and obliged to marry, in ſpite of herſelf, to regain her liberty, although all the ceremonies were performed that ſhould ſeem to have deprived her of it, eſpecially if ſhe could not be prevented from privately receiving bad counſels. For theſe reaſons, therefore, I adviſed his majeſty to try gentle methods, in the long letter I ſent him in anſwer to his.

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† Henry, in his anger, threatened the ducheſs de Mercœur to make her pay two hundred thouſand crowns for damages, beſides the penalty of a hundred thouſand for breach of covenant. The ducheſs, on her part, cauſed the king to be told, that he might not only take the hundred thouſand crowns, but all her eſtates beſides, if he was entitled to them. Her daughter retired to a nunnery of capuchins, with intent to take the veil. Mem, Hiſt, de Fr, ibid.

For this purpoſe many conferences were held at the houſes of the two ducheſſes, at that of the ducheſs of Guiſe, aunt to the young lady, and at the princeſs of Conti's, during which time M. de Vendome was kept at a diſtance, his majeſty having ſent him under the conduct of La Vallée into Brittany. As for me, I thought no perſon better qualified to manage this negotiation than father Cotton. I adviſed the king to employ him, and he ſucceeded ſo well, that at the time when the king was moſt fully perſuaded he ſhould never terminate this affair but by the ordinary courſe of law, and had already writ to the firſt preſident on this ſubject, this father, on a ſudden, gave him hopes that it would be concluded by other means. The art of directing conſciences, in which he excelled, gave him up immediately the firſt point, and not the leaſt eſſential. They began to ceaſe their invectives, which only nouriſhed hatred and diſguſt. Father Cotton did not fail to go as often as he could to the king, to give him an account of the progreſs he had made; and his majeſty, from time to time, ſent him to the chancellor and me to take our advice, and was highly pleaſed with the ſervice he did him upon this occaſion.

The mother and the daughter were the firſt that were prevailed upon; but not without the ducheſs's giving ſuch free ſcope to her reſentment againſt the king, her relations, and all the world, that Henry believed he ſhould never find a favourable moment to obtain her conſent, but exhorted me, if ſuch a one ever offered, not to let it eſcape. The grandmother, and ſome other confidants of the ducheſs's, as La-Porte the confeſſor, continued a long time obſtinate: but, at length, all were appeaſed, and the marriage was celebrated ‡. The king was not quite freed from his ſuſpicion, that the Guiſes, and all the princes of the houſe of Lorrain, ſought, in reality, to deceive him, under an appearance of the greateſt reſpect and deference; for which reaſon, when the poſt of firſt preſident of the chamber of accounts in Provence became vacant by the death of Beauville, and the duke of Guiſe ſolicited it for one of his friends, as likewiſe the counteſs of Sault for one of hers, he denied them both. "They "have both been ſupporters of the league," ſaid he, and this was all the reaſon he gave me for it, when he writ to me to conſult with the chancellor about filling up this place with one more fit for it.

Not all the arguments I uſed to the king, could prevent him from giving, if I may uſe the expreſſion, a right to every one to diſturb his quiet, by continually bringing him informations againſt the moſt illuſtrious perſons in the kingdom, as well catholics as proteſtants. Sometimes he was told, that the duke of Bouillon, Du-Pleſſis, and other heads of the reformed religion, were levying troops; ſometimes that it was agreed upon between them, M. the prince, M. the count, and even all thoſe that had been the greateſt ſupporters of the league againſt them, to take poſſeſſion of ſeveral towns. Another time, it was ſaid, that the duke of Roannais held aſſemblies in Anjou, which Pont-Courlai writ alſo to me: but nothing ſo much alarmed his majeſty as the advice he received from a gentleman of Poitou; for this province was always made the ſeat of rebellion. This man ſaid, that he had been preſent at aſſemblies of a great number of gentlemen, who acted in the names of almoſt all the grandees of the kingdom, beſides the proteſtants, in which he was a witneſs; that they had fixed upon a day for ſeizing a great number of towns, which he named, and had delivered out money for the making proviſion of ſcaling-ladders, petards, arms, ammunition, neceſſary for the enterpriſe.

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‡ The 7th of July in the year following. "The nuptials," ſay the Memoirs de l'Hiſt. de France, "were ſplendid and magnificent: "the king ſhone all over with jewels of an ineſtimable value; he "ran at the ring, and ſeldom failed of carrying the prize."

THE king was at Fontainebleau without any train, and only with a deſign to make ſome parties for hunting, when this informer was preſented to him; he ſent him back to Paris, with orders to wait on Sillery and Villeroi, to whom he gave ſuch exact memorials, that the king was no longer in doubt of the truth of his report, and, full of apprehenſions, returned inſtantly to Paris through Melun, and entered the city at the gate of St. Antoine. He ſent St. Michael immediately for me, having matters, he ſaid, of the utmoſt conſequence to communicate to me. My wife and my children being then in the city with all the coaches of the houſe, I was obliged to wait till one was ſent me by Phelipeaux.

I FOUND the king ſhut up in the queen's little cloſet; with him were that princeſs, the chancellor, and Villeroi, buſy in examining thoſe papers which had heated the lively imagination of Henry. "Well, "Monſieur Obſtinacy," ſaid he to me as I entered, "here is the war begun." So much the better, Sire, ſaid I; for it can be only againſt the Spaniards. "No, no, anſwered he, it is againſt much "nearer neighbours, ſupported by all your hugue-"nots." All the huguenots, returned I; ah, Sire, what makes you imagine ſo? I will anſwer for many, that they do not entertain the leaſt notion of it, and I am ready to anſwer for almoſt all the reſt, that they dare not. "Did I not tell you, my dear," ſaid his majeſty, turning to the queen, "that he "would not believe this? according to him, no one "dare give me the leaſt offence, and it depends "only upon myſelf to give law to all the world." It is true, Sire, I replied, and ſo you may whenever you pleaſe.

VILLEROI and Sillery attempted to ſupport his majeſty's opinion, that this was a moſt dangerous conſpiracy. I repreſented to them, that it was great weakneſs to ſuffer themſelves to be intimidated thus by mere trifles: I took the paper out of their hands, and could not help ſmiling when I found, that, of this formidable body of rebels, only ten or a dozen poor inconſiderable gentlemen and ſoldiers were mentioned, whoſe perſons I knew, being, in reality, in my government; and five or ſix villages, as La-Haye in Touraine, St. John d'Angle, La-Rochepozai, St. Savin, and Chauvigny-le-Blanc in Berry. Pardieu, Sire, reſumed I with ſome emotion, theſe gentlemen mean to jeſt both with your majeſty and me, by making theſe idle reports of conſequence enough to affect you with any apprehenſions, and inducing you to take meaſures to prevent what will never happen. The whole myſtery is this: one of your ſubjects has an inclination to get a hundred crowns from you.

"NOTWITHSTANDING all you can ſay, replied "the king, I am convinced that there is a neceſſity "for my going thither, or elſe that you ſhould ſet "out in two days, and give proper orders there for "keeping every thing quiet." If you would conſent, Sire, replied I, after liſtening patiently to a long detail he made me of the artillery, ammunition, and warlike ſtores neceſſary for this expedition, to let me manage it my own way, I will engage to bring this affair to a concluſion, without much trouble or expence. “Pardieu, ſaid Henry, you are the moſt “obſtinate man I ever ſaw; well, what would you “ſay?” Sire, anſwered I, I only deſire you would give me Moret the prevôt, and twenty archers, and I will bring you a good account of theſe rebels. “You will have it ſo,” ſaid Henry, vanquiſhed by my perſeverance; “but if any accident ſhould “happen, you will have all the blame.” However, the king’s fears were wholly groundleſs. My whole army conſiſted of twenty horſe, with which I ſeized all thoſe perſons that had been accuſed, very few of whom were puniſhed, his majeſty finding moſt of them innocent, and that the others were not worth troubling himſelf with.

THE aſſembly of proteſtants, which it was neceſſary ſhould be held this year, for appointing the two deputies-general, ſeemed to the king to merit ſtill more attention, on account of the preſent ſituation of affairs. He ordered me to aſſiſt at it for the third time; and that I might do ſo with the greater conveniency, the aſſembly was ſummoned to meet at Gergeau, of which I was the governor, and where I could direct every thing from my eſtate of Sully, which extended to the gates of that city. I ſhall be ſilent as to the article of my inſtructions. On the 3d of October, when I wrote for the firſt time to Villeroi, the aſſembly had not yet taken any form, although the members had met ſome days before; for they ſtill expected ſome of the provincial deputies. When I found, that, by one ſingle word, I had put all the diſaffected to ſilence, I took upon myſelf to anſwer for it to his majeſty, that nothing would be done in it contrary to his will; which, however, he could not be perſuaded to believe. All the letters I received from the king and Villeroi were filled with complaints of the proteſtants. “Send “back my courier immediately,” ſaid the king in one of his letters, “there are people at Gergeau “whom there is no dealing with: they have treated

" you like a catholic; I knew they would do ſo: " and four days ago, I ſaw a letter from Saumur " which preſcribed the manner."

It is certain, that there was at firſt, ſome tumult in the aſſembly, and upon this account in particular, that his majeſty had ſent two catholic governors into the cities of Montendre and Tartas, which they alledged had been yielded to them by the king. They ſupported their demands by the tenor of the edicts, and complained that Caumont had been taken from them in the ſame manner. Chambaut, Du-Bourg, and Du-Ferrier, were ſent, by the aſſembly, to me at Sully, with meſſages full of ſubmiſſion to his majeſty, to whom they had likewiſe reſolved to depute two or three of their body upon the ſame ſubject. As I knew his majeſty would not receive this deputation favourably, I endeavoured to diſſuade them from that deſign: I repreſented to them, that I had no commiſſion from the king to treat upon this article; but that I would write about it to him. I excuſed myſelf from having any thing to do with regard to Moncenis, a place upon which they had the ſame pretenſions as the two former, becauſe it belonged to M. the count.

I writ to Villeroi what the aſſembly had propoſed, charging him to repreſent to the king, that, if he was willing this affair ſhould not be protracted, it would be neceſſary to ſatisfy ſuch of their demands as were juſt, or promiſe, at leaſt, to do ſo, when he ſhould return an anſwer to them: to which his majeſty conſented. This article diſpatched, which was one of the eight propoſed by the aſſembly, I told them, that, of thoſe that remained, five were to be brought before the council, as falling under the cognizance of that tribunal; and that they ought now to ſettle the principal affair, which was the appointing the two deputies. His majeſty notified his intentions to them on this ſubject, which were conformable to what he had declared to them

before,

before, as has been ſeen when I treated of the general aſſembly held at Châtelleraut: and this affair was likewiſe concluded to the entire ſatisfaction of both parties, by means of a propoſal I made to the king, to appoint Villarnou to be deputy for the nobility, and Mirande for thoſe of the ſecond order. The former would have been choſen the preceding year, if he had not been propoſed in a manner contrary to the form preſcribed by the king. He went immediately to receive his orders, bearing a letter from me to the king, who ſummed up to him, in a few words, the duties of his office, and ſeemed very well ſatisfied with his choice.

THE aſſembly, after this, continued no longer than was neceſſary to receive the brevet of the deputies acceptation, and all was over before the 1ſt of November. His majeſty, in every letter he writ to me, recommended to me, in particular, to be ſpeedy in ſettling this buſineſs, to return to him as ſoon as poſſible, and always concluded with his uſual expreſſions of kindneſs. The laſt courier that I diſpatched to him found him at the arſenal, from whence, as Villeroi informed me in his letter, he returned at ſeven in the evening, making him write to me at eight, not being willing to do it himſelf, for fear of keeping the courier too long.

WHEN I returned, I gave his majeſty a more exact account than I had done in my letters, of all that has paſſed at Gergeau, and of the pacific diſpoſitions in which I had found a great number of the beſt and moſt conſiderable perſons of the proteſtant body. His majeſty was then at Fontainebleau, where he ſtaid as long this year as any of the former ones: he had returned thither the middle of May, after that ſhort journey to Paris which I have mentioned, and ſtaid there all June and July; in Auguſt he went back to Paris, from whence he went to St. Germain, and afterwards to Monceaux, where he ſtaid fifteen days; and, paſſing through Fontainebleau, came to Paris the beginning of October, while I was ſtill at Gergeau; in the middle of October he went again to Fontainebleau, where he ſtaid all the remainder of that month, and part of November, and then returned to Paris to diſpatch his affairs. I have already obſerved that this manner of living was only fatiguing to himſelf, and a few of his principal miniſters.

He was not, this year, afflicted with any dangerous diſtemper. In a letter he writ to me from Fontainebleau, dated June 2d, he ſays, "I have "had a fever, which has laſted two days and a "night, but it only proceeds from a cold, which, "by the help of God, I hope will not have any "bad conſequences. I am reſolved to take more "care of my health than I have done hitherto: "this you may depend upon, as alſo upon the aſſu-"rance I give you of my affection for you." Yet he ſtill continued the fatigue of the chace. From St. Germain he writ to me, that he had taken a ſtag in an hour: that he went afterwards to bed, where he lay another hour, and then went to walk in his gardens, and to viſit his manufacturers. Henry, while this cold in his head continued, wet eight or ten handkerchiefs in a day: he had, at the ſame time, a defluxion in his ears and throat, which was very troubleſome to him. And afterwards preparing himſelf, by purges, to drink the waters of Spa, he was ſeized with a looſeneſs, from which he ſuffered violent pains for two days, and which left a weakneſs upon him for a conſiderable time afterwards. This was a diſorder that prevailed not only over all that diſtrict, from whence his majeſty writ to me, that he had with him the good man Villeroi, and above a hundred gentlemen of his court, who were afflicted with it, but likewiſe in Paris, and all the neighbouring parts.

Almost all the children of his majeſty were ſick during the month of May. In his letter to me, in which he ſent me an account of it, his paternal tenderneſs made him enter into the ſmalleſt circumſtances relating to the ſtate of their health, none of which, indeed, were indifferent to me. In his letter he ſent me from Fontainebleau, dated May the 16th, he ſays, "I am in great affliction, having all my "children ill here: my daughter de Verneuil has "got the meaſles; my ſon, the Dauphin, vomited "twice yeſterday; he has a ſlight fever, attended "with a drowſineſs, and a ſore throat: from theſe "ſymptoms, the phyſicians think he likewiſe will "have the meaſles. Laſt night, my daughter began "to have a little fever: my ſon d'Orleans has a "continued one; but it is more violent one day "than another." This prince's illneſs was moſt dangerous, and laſted longer than any of the other. "Judge, continued he, whether, with all this, I "muſt not ſuffer great uneaſineſs. I will every "day give you an account of my childrens health." Happily they all recovered. "Whatever it ſhall "pleaſe God to do with them," ſaid this prince to me, "I will ſubmit patiently to his will: all the "diſpenſations of his providence are good." He enquired with his uſual goodneſs, how my ſon did, who, he had been told, had the ſmall-pox. He choſe Noiſy for the place of his childrens reſidence during the ſummer, and would not ſuffer them to be removed to St. Germain till November, at which time he ſent me orders, as uſual, to have them carried thither, with madame de Monglat, in the coaches and litters of the queen and queen Margaret; ordering me to tell madame de Verneuil to ſend hers thither likewiſe, the ſmall-pox then raging at Paris.

THE ſon of this lady, who was called the marquis de Verneuil †, was, by the king his father, deſigned for the church; and the biſhopric of Metz becoming vacant, he had ſome thoughts of giving it him; but the procuring this prince to be nominated, the illegitimacy of his birth, and his youth, for he was yet but a child, were three obſtacles to his advancement to this ſee. It was in the power of the chapter of Metz to remove the firſt, by admitting the young prince as a candidate; or, if that was too difficult to be granted, to appoint the cardinal of Guiſe either to be biſhop or adminiſtrator, becauſe, from his hands, it might afterwards eaſily paſs into thoſe of the young De Verneuil. This chapter having both a right to chuſe themſelves a biſhop, in caſe of a vacancy, by reſignation, or death, and of giving the adminiſtration of the revenues of the biſhopric to any perſon they pleaſed, there was no neceſſity for uſing many perſuaſions with them; for, as ſoon as they perceived that it would pleaſe the king to have his ſon appointed, he was admitted and choſen unanimouſly.

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† Henry de Bourbon, marquis, or, according to others, duke of Verneuil, afterwards biſhop of Metz. If Paul V. ſhewed himſelf ſo difficult on account of the biſhopric of Metz, Innocent X. ſhewed himſelf much more ſo: for he poſitively refuſed to give the purple to this prince. He enjoy'd more than four hundred thouſand livres a

But it was the pope alone who could grant the neceſſary diſpenſation on the other two articles, the birth and age of the young prince. His majeſty, to prevail upon him to grant this favour, ſent the duke of Nevers to Rome †. Valerio, the courier from Rome, was received in a moſt obliging manner at Paris, and retained there till the end of March. The marchioneſs of Verneuil neglected nothing to ſecure the ſucceſs of this affair. However, all that could be obtained from the pope, was a diſpenſation for the birth. He refuſed the ſecond requeſt, as being abſolutely contrary to the canons and diſcipline of the church; but, by the force of entreaties and ſolicitations, they drew from him, at length, that kind of approbation, which, in the Roman

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year in benefices, when he gave them all up, in 1668, to marry Charlotte Seguier, widow of Maximilian Francis, third duke of Sully. He died in 1682.

† The Memoirs of thoſe times take notice of the magnificent entry and reception of the duke at Rome.

man ſtyle, is called expectative, and that the young prince might bear, at preſent, the title of biſhop of Metz. Valerio brought the news to Fontainebleau the latter end of April, and, by the king's command, I acquainted Madame de Verneuil with it immediately.

THE little complaiſance which Paul V. on this occaſion ſhewed his majeſty, was well repaid by him, when, at that pontiff's requeſt, the cardinals and prelates of France renewed their ſolicitations to Henry, that the decrees of the council of Trent might be publiſhed in the kingdom; the king, without ſuffering himſelf to be moved by their repeated attempts on this head, replied, that ſince they could not get this council approved by Francis I. Henry II. and Charles IX. although they had not the ſame obligations to the proteſtants as he had, nor had granted them ſuch favourable edicts as he had done, they muſt not expect that he would ever give his conſent to it. He ſhewed them the miſchief ſuch a grant was capable of doing in the kingdom, and declared, that he had no inclination to eſtabliſh the inquiſition in France; and that he thought it very ſurpriſing, for he was aware of that objection, that ſuch a ſtrange clauſe ſhould be made one of the conditions of his abſolution. All therefore that they could obtain from his majeſty was, that the maſs ſhould be permitted in Bearn †.

THIS year the Roman college loſt the cardinals de Lorrain and Baronius. The duke of Florence, and the famous Scaliger died alſo about the ſame time: and, in France, the chancellor de Bellievre, father Ange de Joyeuſe, and Miron ‡.

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† The exerciſe of the catholic religion had been re-eſtabliſhed at Bearn, ever ſince the time of the edict of Nantes. There is therefore a miſtake here in theſe Memoirs; and, inſtead of the *maſs*, it ſhould be read the *jeſuits*; thoſe fathers being eſtabliſhed there this year, by the king's edict of the 16th of February. They were obliged for this to the ſolicitations of the biſhop of Oleron. Nic. Rigault. Book i. Merc. Fr. 1608, &c.

‡ Francis Miron maſter of requeſts, ſuperintendant of the government

SOME new embelliſhments were made at Fontainebleau and Monceaux. The bridge Marchand[†]

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ment of the iſle of France, preſident of the great council, provoſt of Paris, and lieutenant-civil within the provoſtſhip thereof, &c. died in the month of June, this year, extremely regretted on account of his probity, and other good qualities. His party eſteemed him ſo much for the ſteadineſs with which he had oppoſed the ſuperintendant on occaſion of the order of council which had been made the year before for the ſuppreſſion of the annuities of the Hotel de Ville, and of the bold remonſtrances he made to the king on that behalf, that they got together in a body, and came, in a ſeditious manner, to defend his houſe againſt the threatenings of the council. Perefixe, from whom I have this fact, agrees, that the enquiry into the caſe of the annuitants was in itſelf moſt juſt; and yet blames the authors of it: "Becauſe, ſays he, the greateſt part of thoſe annuities having paſſed through ſeveral hands, or been divided, many families muſt be put to great trouble by it. Miron, adds he, earneſtly requeſted the citizens to retire, and not to make him criminal; aſſuring them they had nothing to fear: that they had to do with a king as great as wiſe, as gentle as equitable; and who would not ſuffer himſelf to be influenced by the advice of evil counſellors."

For my part, I do not ſo much admire this gentleman, who, notwithſtanding his probity, ſuffered himſelf to be ſo far tranſported with paſſion, as to make ſome odious compariſons: "Not indeed, ſays the ſame writer, with the king's perſon, but with ſome of his council;" as I do the king himſelf, who, reſiſting the perſuaſion of thoſe who would have prevailed on him to ſeize him by force, and ſeverely to puniſh his boldneſs, "graciouſly received, continues M. de Perefixe, the excuſes and moſt humble ſubmiſſions of Miron; and beſides, forbid the proſecution of the enquiry into the annuities, which had made ſo much noiſe." I am ſurpriſed no notice is taken of any part of this tranſaction in theſe Memoirs.

But another action which does real honour to M. de Sully (taken out of the Memoires pour l'Hiſt. de Fr.) was, his ſoliciting Henry IV. on behalf of the preſident Miron, brother of the deceaſed, who had reſigned the office of lieutenant-civil to him, and afterwards of his ſon. The king ſaying to him, "I am ſurpriſed you ſhould deſire my favour for perſons whom you formerly ſo much hated." "And, Sire, replied Sully, I am more ſurpriſed to find you hate people you formerly ſo much loved, and who love you, and have done you good ſervice." The queen, at the recommendation of Conchini, procured this office for Nicholas Le-Geai, the king's attorney of the Châtelet.

[†] "So called after the name of Charles Le-Marchand, captain of the arquebuſiers and archers of Paris, who undertook, with the king's permiſſion, to build the ſaid bridge at his own coſts and expences, on certain conditions, which were granted to him, and amongſt others that it ſhould bear his name." Journal de L'Etoile, ibid.

This bridge, which formerly was called Pont-aux-Colombes, (the Pigeon-bridge) becauſe pigeons were ſold on it, had afterwards the was built at Paris, in the place of that called the bridge Aux-Meûniers. I gave the king a deſign for La-Place Dauphin, by which, leaving the fund to be managed by the undertaker for his own advantage, it might be finiſhed in three years. It was offered to the firſt preſident, and to the parliament. I alſo drew a plan for the bridge of Rouen; which my ſon preſented to his majeſty, for I was then upon the ſpot. Henry thought nothing could be better contrived for the conveniency of the ground. The bridge at Mante was finiſhed this year. In Bourbonnois I depoſited ſeveral pieces of artillery, which procured me the thanks of that province by St. Géran.

THESE works of neceſſity, or of public utility, might have been carried much farther, if the king had been willing to follow the advice I gave him, to ſacrifice ſome of his private expences to ſuch laudable undertakings. The money he loſt at play only, would have anſwered thoſe purpoſes. I was ordered to pay Edward Fernandez †, a Portugueſe, at one time thirty-four thouſand piſtoles which he had loſt to him. This order is dated Auguſt 27. He often ſent me others for two or three thouſand piſtoles ‡, and many more for ſums leſs conſider-

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name of Pont-aux-Meûniers, (the Millers-bridge) becauſe there was a mill under every arch. It had been broke down ever ſince the year 1596, by a flood, on the 22d of December, between five and ſix o'clock in the evening, cruſhing under its ruins upwards of five hundred perſons, who were for the moſt part, as it was ſaid, of the number of thoſe who had enriched themſelves at the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew; and it had, ever ſince, continued unrepaired. It was begun this year, and finiſhed the next. It took fire twelve years after, being of wood, and was burnt down, together with another bridge, called Pont-au-Change, which was rebuilt with ſtone in 1639: and the two bridges were united in one, which, at preſent, is called Pont-au-Change. See the authors of the Antiquities and Deſcriptions of Paris.

† This Edward Fernandez is taken notice of in the Memoirs of Baſſompierre, as being a rich Portugueſe banker, who lent money to the courtiers for play, on pledges, and at large intereſt.

‡ "I do not know, ſays M. de Peréfixe, what anſwer to make "to thoſe who charge him with being fonder of cards and dice,

able. However it muſt be confeſſed, that this paſſion for play never hindered him from agreeing to every propoſal in which the public good was concerned.

A DREADFUL devaſtation ‡ was made by the

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" than was becoming a great king; and that beſides he played ill, being eager to win, timorous when large ſums were depending, and " out of temper when he loſt." It requires no anſwer, I ſhould tell this writer; for it muſt be owned, that it is a blot in the life of this great prince. How can one juſtify a paſſion for play, when puſhed to the degree it was by Henry IV? What can be more pernicious in the maſter of a whole nation? What example can be worſe? What can have a ſtronger tendency to the ſubverſion of order, and the corruption of manners?

We find, on this ſubject, in the Memoirs for the Hiſtory of France, a ſtory as pleaſant as it is pleaſantly told. " M. de Crequy, " afterwards duke of Leſdiguieres and marſhal of France, loſt ſo " much money, that one day, coming from the king's, in a manner out of his ſenſes, he met M. de Guiſe, who was going to the " caſtle, to whom he ſaid: Friend, friend, where are the guards " placed to day? on which M. de Guiſe, ſtepping back two or three " paces, Excuſe me, Sir, ſays he, I am not of this country; and " immediately went to the king, who laughed heartily at the ſtory."

The marſhal de Baſſompierre ſays, that Pimentel, the foreigner mentioned in the beginning of this book, " won upwards of two " hundred thouſand crowns, which he carried off; and came back to " France the following year, where he made another good harveſt." It is reported that the ſtratagem he made uſe of to win ſo much, was to get into his hands all the dice which were in the ſhops at Paris, and ſubſtituting falſe dice, which he had got made, in the place of them. But what ſome people have ſaid, that Henry IV. was informed of the cheat, and countenanced it, with deſign to impoveriſh his courtiers, and thereby to make them more ſubmiſſive to him, ought to be looked upon as a mere ſtroke of ſatire. The duke of Epernon loſt conſiderable ſums, and all his jewels. The duke of Biron alſo loſt, in one year, more than five hundred thouſand crowns.

‡ This devaſtation laſted twenty-four hours, and came in an inſtant. Had not the banks broke down, the city of Tours muſt have been laid under water, and Blois ran a great riſque. M. de Sully, who was then at Sully, with great difficulty ſaved himſelf: both he and his whole duchy were in great danger. Mem. Hiſt. de Fr. ib.

According to Le Mercure François, this misfortune happened twice, in this year, in the Loire; once toward the end of winter, after a froſt; the ſecond time, in the beginning of ſummer, by the ſudden melting of the ſnow on the mountains of Velai and Auvergne: it places none of thoſe floods in the month of October, in which he is miſtaken. " The loſs, ſays he, of men, women, children, cattle, " caſtles, Loire, in the month of October. In my journey from d'Olivet to Orleans, I expected to have been involved in it. This whole paſſage was one continued ſea, in which the boats ſwam over the tops of the trees and houſes the water had yet left ſtanding. However, no accident happened to myſelf; but the boat, which carried me, ſtuck in its return, and fell in two pieces, but fortunately all the paſſengers ſaved themſelves by ſwimming. The deſolation was extreme, and the damage infinite. In the petitions of the injured towns and villages, not only a total diſcharge of the taille was demanded, but likewiſe a ſpeedy and effectual ſuccour, at leaſt for their moſt urgent neceſſities, without which moſt part of the lands muſt remain untilled, and the houſes be deſerted. "God," ſaid Henry, in his anſwer to a letter I writ to him upon this terrible accident, "has given me ſubjects, that I may preſerve them "as my children. Let them meet with tenderneſs "and charity from my council. Alms are always highly acceptable to God; and in caſes "of public miſery more eſpecially ſo. It would "lie heavy on my conſcience, if I neglected to do "every thing I can for their relief." I ſeconded with all my power, the king's pious intentions.

In the ſame letter I obtained three little gratuities

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"caſtles, mills, houſes, and all ſorts of goods, was ineſtimable. There "was not a bridge on this river, which has a courſe of more than "five hundred leagues, which had not ſome of its arches broke "down. The force of the water made breaches in all the banks. "The low grounds were covered with it quite to the ſkirts of the "hills; the lands which are very fruitful there, were for a long time "overflowed, there being no vent for the water to run off; and be"came quite barren, being covered with ſand and ſtones, which the "water had brought from Auvergne."

This year was called the year of the hard winter, that ſeaſon being unuſually ſevere. "Henry IV. ſaid his beard froze in bed with "the queen by him." He had ſome frozen bread given him on the 23d of January, which he would not ſuffer to be thawed. Matt. vol. II. book iii. p. 771.

for different perſons: the profits of a mill, at the gates of Paris, for one; the remainder of ſome trees, that had been cut down, for another; and the timber which had ſerved to repair the ſtone bridge at Mante, for the third.

THE merit and learning of Meſſieurs Fenouillet and D'Abeins, ſo well known throughout the whole kingdom, encouraged me to requeſt, for the firſt, the reverſion of the biſhopric of Poitiers; and, for the ſecond, the firſt biſhopric which ſhould become vacant, both which were promiſed me. I ſet out immediately after for Sully; but I had ſcarce left his majeſty, when news was brought him of the death of the biſhop of Montpelier, which he inſtantly ſent to inform me of. I was of opinion, that I ſhould make ſome alteration in the favour I had obtained of the king. I therefore writ to him, that Montpelier being full of proteſtants, it ſeemed to me to require, that a man as eloquent as the abbe Fenouillet ſhould be made biſhop of it; and that the mild and moderate diſpoſition of the abbe d'Abeins rendered him abſolutely fit for the biſhopric of Poitiers, that province having many hot and violent ſpirits in it that required tempering. Henry read my letter to the courtiers about him, and, ſmiling, aſked them whether the catholics could have made a better diſpoſition †. Fervaque was ſo dangerouſly ill, that I adviſed his majeſty to think of diſpoſing of the very conſiderable poſts he held in Normandy. But he ſoon deſtroyed our opinion of his danger, by writing, ſome days afterwards, that if a commiſſion was ſent him to hold the ſtates of that province, he found himſelf able to preſide at the aſſembly.

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† Péréfixe relates this fact ſomething differently. "The biſhopric "of Poitiers being become vacant, Roſny earneſtly recommended "one Fenouillet to him, who was eſteemed a man of learning, and "a good preacher. The king notwithſtanding this recommenda- "tion, gave it to the abbot of La-Rochepozai, who alſo poſſeſſed "many good qualities; and beſides was the ſon of a father who had "ſerved equally well with his ſword in the wars, and with his ge- "nius in embaſſies. Some time after the biſhopric of Montpelier "became vacant, on which the king, of his own motion, ſent for "Fenouillet, and gave it to him; but on condition, that he ſhould "take it as an obligation to him alone." Ibid. p. 312.

The treaty of 1564, between France and Lorrain, daily ſuffered ſome new difficulties relating to the limits of the country of Meſſin, which determined the king to ſend commiſſioners upon the ſpot. Theſe were choſen by the chancellor and I, out of the council and elſewhere. Another work no leſs uſeful, and much more conſiderable, was to order report to be given in, upon exact views, of all the encroachments made by our neighbours in different parts of the frontiers, and eſpecially upon the confines of Champagne, with Franche Comté, and Lorrain. Chatillon, the engineer, to whom I committed this taſk, executed it with the utmoſt exactneſs. He made it clear that the king of Spain, and the duke of Lorrain, had unjuſtly appropriated to themſelves a great number of fiefs, and even whole villages, as the village of Pierre-court, the town of Paſſeran, the lordſhip of Commercy, and many others, which it would be too tedious to enumerate here †.

This work was but a ſmall part of what, by his majeſty's orders, I had undertaken. The moſt exact plans of all the coaſts and frontiers of France were to be drawn. The duke of Maïenne and the inhabitants of Antibes, having put to ſale the lands they had in the neighbourhood of that city, the king was deſirous of purchaſing them, which, when known, was ſufficient to make them ſet ſuch a price upon thoſe lands as diſguſted his majeſty, who ordered them to be told, that they might ſell their land to whomſoever they pleaſed, but that he would put a governor into Antibes, who might probably make them repent of their injuſtice to himſelf.

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† They may be ſeen in the old Memoirs of Sully, Vol. v. p. 222.

Let us now come to the finances. There was a new regulation made, directed to the treaſurers of the exchequer, of the private expences, of the poſts, of the Swiſs League, of the ordnance, of the extraordinary of the wars, and the extraordinary on this ſide the mountains, and the reſt, which preſcribed them ſtill a more exact method for giving in their accounts, and placed them in the loweſt dependence on their ſuperintendant, without a precept from whom they had ſcarce the power of doing any thing. This regulation ‡ was extended, likewiſe, even to the regiſters and the ſecretary of the council. I put in the ſame ſubjection thoſe who acted under me in every other buſineſs: I obliged Lichani, under whoſe direction the ſtreets of Paris were paving, to come every Wedneſday and Saturday noon, to give me an account of the payment and employment of his workmen.

By a circular letter ſent to all the managers of the finances, I forbid them to place any more, in their accounts, ſuch articles as had been once rejected, or reduced by the council, leaving no means to recover them but that of petition; and that they might not plead want of rules, I ſent them forms drawn up with clearneſs and exactneſs. They were obliged even to quote the date, and the ſignatures of the patents and edicts of council that were there mentioned. The regulation of the fees of the chamber of accounts, and another, concerning the money embezzled by the treaſurers of France, and the receivers-general, was joined by the former. This new ſcheme brought the king, at preſent, a hundred thouſand crowns profit, which would be doubled, when it came to be perfectly obſerved. The chamber of accounts did not part with its fees but with a great deal of trouble, not even when it was made appear upon how falſe a ſuppoſition they had been eſtabliſhed. I was obliged even to get a formal order, from his majeſty, to obtain from them a delivery of the regiſters, for which I had occaſion. I had a great deal of trouble with the procurer-general, and the preſidents of that chamber, to make them verify an edict with reſpect to thoſe who paid their rents, and for the extinction of forty-eight thouſand livres of rent ſettled by compoſition.

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‡ See this regulation in the old Memoirs, vol. III. p. 194.

I DECLARED to the ſovereign courts, and the office of finances of Languedoc, the reſolution of the king upon ſeveral queſtions which they had ſent to me, reſpecting rights of preſence, feudal or ſeigneurial rights, ſupplement of the crown-lands, new purchaſes, the crown-lands of Navarre, rights of "traite foraine et domaniale," payments upon cloths, and particularly the taille réelle, upon which the council determined, with one voice, that the prince, the officers of the crown, and the king himſelf, being obliged to pay it, for the lands which they poſſeſſed in that province, it muſt be paid by every one elſe, both cities and communities. I ordered Mauſſac to carry letters, concerning all this, to the parliament of Toulouſe, the treaſurers of France, and the farmers of the gabelles. I directed the edict for the repurchaſe of the regiſters to M. de Verdun, firſt preſident of that parliament, that he might ſee it regiſtered, which he did without any difficulty or ſubterfuge. He wrote, at the ſame time, that he had proceeded to make a compenſation to the regiſters of the ſeveral courts; and aſſured me of the exact ſubmiſſion of the parliament to the king's will. To this he added ſome perſonal acknowledgments, and thanked me, among other things, for having ſent ſuch a commiſſioner as Colange, a man of ſoft addreſs, and inſinuating behaviour.

I DO my beſt to ſuppreſs all particularities, which muſt naturally be tedious; and ſhall therefore ſay nothing of the letters which I wrote to the procurer-general of Dauphiné, to the ſieur Marion, and to the treaſurers of Burgundy upon the repurchaſe of the domaine, upon the late regulations, and upon every other ſubject ‡.

WHEN I ſaw the year drawing to an end, I wrote to the king at Fontainebleau, that his preſence was neceſſary for a general view of the finances: that I wanted his orders for a thouſand things, ſuch as his garriſons, his troops, the gallies, the officers of the dauphin's houſhold, and of the children of France; that, by his abſence, many other affairs were left unſettled, which, by thoſe who had them in charge, were conſidered as merely of my invention, and indifferent to him. I ſhall honeſtly confeſs, that I have always endeavoured to join his majeſty with his miniſters in the management of buſineſs, becauſe, in reality, the beſt regulations come to nothing, unleſs it plainly appear that neglect will be puniſhed by the diſpleaſure of the prince.

THE brevet of the taille had never been made in a manner ſo ſolemn as it was now for the year 1609. His majeſty came on the 16th of Auguſt, and took his ſeat in the council, attended by ſeveral princes, dukes, peers, and officers of the crown, and an edict of the council was paſſed in his preſence, by which it is ſaid, that the king having examined the calculations of receipts, and expences for the preſent year, and heard the reports of his council, and the ſuperintendant of his finances, was very deſirous to ſhew his regard to the remonſtrances which they had made him, by diſcharging his people from part of the taille; but that the debts contracted by his predeceſſors, and the diſorder in which he found the finances, obliged him to encreaſe it inſtead of diminiſhing: but that, however, he was contented to impoſe, for the next year, only the ſame ſum as for the year paſt, with the augmentation but of twenty thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty livres, ten ſols, and ſeven deniers, which were to ariſe by an appropriation of the ſame ſum, which the commiſſioners had always charged upon the pariſhes for ſome petty expences of each province, which charge was from henceforth ſuppreſſed.

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‡ All the letters in the old Memoirs of Sully, of this year 1608, may be conſulted on this ſubject. Vol. III.

I SHALL give an account, with ſome ſatisfaction, of a memorial, which I preſented to the king, concerning the taille, becauſe, by the particularities and reflections contained in it, it may paſs for an epitome of the hiſtory of the taille, in France.

IT is certain that no ſtate, whatſoever, ſubject to the government of many, or of one, can be without paying taxes: for though we ſhould ſuppoſe it content with the power which it now has, without endeavouring after more, it is however impoſſible, but that, from time to time, it muſt have outrages to revenge, and rebels to repreſs. Innumerable neceſſities, riſing within itſelf, muſt be indiſpenſably ſupplied by regular expences, which however muſt be ſometimes greater, ſometimes leſs. Theſe expences, as well ordinary as extraordinary, were, in this kingdom, for a long time, raiſed upon the lands belonging to the king, or to the crown ‡, by taxes, under the name of voluntary aſſiſtance, laid and allotted by a general determination of all the orders of the kingdom, which are called the ſtates. They were, however, almoſt nothing to the immenſe ſums to which we have ſeen them riſe ſince, becauſe, in thoſe times, they confined themſelves to things barely neceſſary as well in as out of the kingdom. It is a remark, which I know not whether any man has made, that of all our kings of the third race, down to Charles VIII. not one appears to have engaged in diſtant conqueſts, or even to have made a formal declaration of war, againſt any neighbouring prince ||.

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‡ M. de Sully has ſo often and ſo ſtrongly declared himſelf againſt the abuſes of popular ſtates and aſſemblies, that it is not likely he ſhould here mean to authoriſe them: but he ſometimes deceives himſelf, and is hurried too far by his notions of œconomy and ſeverity. Whatever appears in this place in oppoſition to ſovereign authority, ſprings from this ſource.

Men, ſeparately conſidered, are ſome good, ſome bad: therefore, a ſtate governed by one man, will ſometimes be well ruled, ſometimes ill. Men conſidered in that collective ſtate, which is called the people, have never been, are not, nor ever will be any thing but a multitude, whoſe underſtandings and manners of thinking are confined, prejudiced, weak, paſſionate, fearful, and daring, by turns, without cauſe; as defective in experience as in foreſight, and puſhed on, by inſtinct, towards the only real good. Conſequently a ſtate governed by the multitude muſt be bad, and always ill governed. This proof is clear from its ſimplicity, and may be called a demonſtration, as well againſt republics, as every other form of government, which grants more or leſs power to the people. The principle that makes the chief riches of a king to conſiſt in his demeſnes, has no better foundation. See L'Eſſai Politique ſur le Commerce.

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|| This obſervation is falſe. Before Charles VIII. France was engaged in wars with Spain, Flanders, and England; with its neighbours as well as with more diſtant ſtates, offenſively as well as defenſively. What a period of time is here compared with, and preferred to the preſent? The laſt reigns of the ſecond race of our kings, and the firſt of the third: could a more unfortunate one, for this kingdom, have been pitched on? If there were then fewer foreign wars, continual civil ones, the greateſt of all calamities, were the unfortunate reaſon of it. Our kings had ſcarce any other employment, than to make uſeleſs attempts to deliver the nation from a thouſand domeſtic tyrants. France was defenceleſs againſt the Barbarians, and againſt its neighbours, of whom ſucceſſively ſhe became the ſport.

This time, it may be ſaid, was at leaſt happy for the nobility; but even that I cannot agree to. They ſhone only with falſe luſtre, ſince the public and general evils muſt alſo neceſſarily bring on their particular ruin. Can a man be deemed leſs unfortunate becauſe he himſelf is the cauſe of his misfortunes? if a ſtate of peace and quietneſs, notwithſtanding what ambition may alledge to the contrary, be the only happy one, the cardinal of Richelieu has done more for the real good of the French nobility than they are ſenſible of.

In ſhort, what has been doing in France for near three hundred years paſt, but taking pains to heal the wounds given to her power at the time here extolled for its happineſs and wiſdom? The duke of Sully, in this place, ſeems to give a little into that popular prejudice, which cauſes admiration of whatever bears the mark of antiquity. One thing, nevertheleſs, may ſerve to excuſe him. He had been a witneſs of part of the miſchiefs which the religious wars had occaſioned in the laſt age, and which, to ſay the truth, can be equalled by inſtances very few, if any, to be found in our hiſtory: he did not think himſelf deceived when he placed thoſe calamities to the account of the government; but is it not more probable that they were ſo great, only becauſe monarchy was not yet fully eſtabliſhed among us? A king, poſſeſſed of the power our kings at this day have happily acquired, had found means to prevent them, ſince he would have known how to overawe the great men, to whom alone they ought to be imputed.

If it were neceſſary, in order to place this truth in its ſtrongeſt light, With this ſpirit of moderation and frugality they never found themſelves in want; but were able to diſcharge all expences without mortgaging, or alienating their lands; and were therefore, in reality, notwithſtanding that appearance of poverty, much richer ‡ than their ſucceſſors in the midſt of all their treaſures, which they have obtained by boundleſs power, and abſolute authority. This is no paradox. The prince who can do much, he thinks, he can do every thing ‖, and undertakes every thing without

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to add to it an example to ſhew the juſtneſs of this aſſertion, we have not, within the laſt fifty years, wanted many occaſions for the production of civil troubles, as well as religious diſſentions. We could even quote a minority, and that in a time full of difficulties: yet what miſchief has happened from thence?

But what ought to ſurpriſe us moſt, is, that there ſhould be people, even at this time of day, who in ſpite of experience, and contrary to the moſt convincing evidence, undertake, by their reaſonings, to reſtore opinions ſo juſtly exploded.

‡ This is another error. To ſpeak juſtly, one cannot ſay the king is either rich or poor. Of all the perſons who may be ſaid to belong to the public, the king is moſt properly ſo. In this light, he poſſeſſes nothing but what at the ſame time appertains to the whole ſtate. All thoſe expences, which are deemed royal, ought alſo to be called civil, ſince they are all made in the name, for the benefit, and on behalf of the whole ſtate. This is obvious in what is ſpent in the ſupport of armies, navies, fortifications, &c. and no leſs ſo, as to all works of public utility and convenience; or ſimply of grandeur and magnificence: and if a ſerious attention be given to it, it will appear that the ſame may be ſaid even of thoſe expences which bear relation to the perſon of the king alone; as his table, apparel, houſes, diverſions, &c. On all theſe occaſions he is not leſs in the ſervice of the public, than whilſt he is at the head of his armies.

The ill uſe ſome ſovereigns make of the public treaſures, deſtroys not the truth of this principle: beſides it is for the advantage of the whole nation, that the quantity of the public money to be applied, and the manner of its application, ſhould be under the direction of one perſon only. Should any one expect, that the people would give attention enough to the public good, to contribute voluntarily to what may be found to be neceſſary for the uſe, convenience, and glory of the nation; to the ſecret expences policy requires, to thoſe which ſecure the recompence of bravery and merit, or the improvement of arts and ſciences, he muſt be unacquainted with what they are capable of. The republican conſtitution can be adapted to the happineſs of ſmall ſtates only.

‖ This is the ſtrongeſt objection that can be, and which, in fact, is conſtantly made againſt monarchy. Muſt one man be the maſter perceiving a capital error in the computation of his ſtrength, the impoveriſhment and ruin of his ſub-

of all? Suppoſe that one to be ambitious, prodigal, or cruel, muſt not the whole people be the victims of ambition, prodigality, and cruelty? I deny not the poſſibility of the fact: there are examples of it. And in admitting this, I agree that this is the greateſt, but at the ſame time, in one ſenſe, the only inconvenience of this form of government.

But ſince perfect happineſs falls not to the ſhare of man, and ſince human wiſdom, exerted to the utmoſt pitch, can only promiſe itſelf to diminiſh the meaſure of human evils, the only queſtion is, whether monarchical power is not more conducive to this end, than any other form of government? This muſt become apparent, I am perſuaded, on a ſlight reflection.

Whatever exceſſes a king may run into he will ſtill, for his own intereſt, to a certain degree, be careful of the lives and properties of his ſubjects. Beſides, only a moderate ſhare of virtue in a monarch is ſufficient to inſure the good of his people, though it may not produce the greateſt happineſs they may be capable of enjoying: and, on the contrary, all the vices a prince may be liable to, are not in every caſe deſtructive of the happineſs of thoſe under his command: ſome even promote it, whilſt others only ſuſpend it. In fine, his incapacity may be ſupplied by the choice of able miniſters. From theſe cauſes, it happens that under a kingly government, no evil is of long continuance, or abſolutely irremediable. Before this can be the caſe, ignorance and preſumption muſt concur with an aſſemblage of all the vices.

Theſe principles lead us to this concluſion: that there is only one, but that an infallible method, to prevent all the evils which have been produced in France by the nobles, in England by the people, in the north by the clergy, in the eaſt by the monks, in many ancient monarchies by the ſoldiers, and in an infinite number of ſtates by the diverſity of religions; and that is, to encreaſe the royal authority to a degree ſufficient, not only to counterballance thoſe ſeveral authorities, but to overweigh them. The name of a king, provided it is not reduced to a mere name, will be a rock, againſt which, whatever waves may at any time flow from parliaments, univerſities, or any other bodies of people, may ſafely daſh and break themſelves.

The reaſon of this is plain. All other power, beſides this, is a power compounded of many parts, which, through the openings in them, admit all the members of the body-politic to enter into a ſhare of the ſupreme authority; that is to ſay, into a ſhare of what cannot be divided. Royalty alone keeps every thing in order; makes head againſt, and oppoſes every thing, being ſuperior to, and blunting every danger. It will always have this effect when it appears not to be doubtful. In the ſtate, as in the church, there muſt be a viſible authority, whoſe brightneſs may dazzle the eyes of thoſe who would move out of their proper ſpheres. For it is a truth, which ſeems to me not to be ſufficiently attended to, that all the miſchiefs, all the revolutions, which afflict or deſtroy ſtates, ſpring, without exception, from the want jects, which is always aggravated as his deſires encreaſe, and at laſt reduces him to total weakneſs.

I SAY nothing of the troubles ariſing from endeavours to ſatiate an avarice in itſelf inſatiable. The taille, which of all arbitrary impoſts is indiſputably the moſt pernicious as the moſt unjuſt, as under that name are comprehended all capitations or aſſeſſments raiſed arbitrarily upon particular perſons, furniſhes us with many ſtriking examples of its bad conſequences. How many times has it brought the royal authority into danger? Its firſt conſequence was to turn Childeric, the father of Clovis, out of his throne; and ſome time afterwards it coſt Chilperic his life: for he was aſſaſſinated by Bodillon, a French gentleman, in revenge of ignominious treatment, which he received from the prince, for having repreſented, with a little freedom of ſpeech, the danger of an exorbitant tax, which he was going to eſtabliſh. Such another tax, under Philip Auguſtus, produced an inſurrection of the nobility, which defeated the deſign. Others, who have ſucceeded better in this undertaking, have afterwards felt ſuch violent remorſe of con-

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of ſubordination. It may conſequently be ſet down as a fundamental principle of government, that the preference ſhould be given, above all other means, to thoſe which are moſt proper to preſerve this ſubordination; an advantage which undeniably reſults from royalty.

In order to prove, in oppoſition to the principles eſtabliſhed, in this part of theſe Memoirs, for the government of this kingdom, that all the calamities, wherewith it was afflicted during the ſecond and third race of its kings, had their origin from the changes made in its original conſtitution, in diminution of the prerogatives and authority of the monarch, the moſt effectual method will be to refer to the Hiſtoire critique de l'Etabliſſement de la Monarchie Françoiſe dans les Gaules, which has been before cited by me. The author therein demonſtrates that our kings of the firſt race enjoyed, perhaps, a more abſolute authority than the king has at preſent, in levying taxes, condemning the principal nobility to death, &c. that the dukes and earls, by making themſelves proprietors of the lordſhips and eſtates whereof they were only governors, inſenſibly uſurped both the prerogative of the king, and the rights of the people: that the people, on many occaſions, ſupported the efforts which the ſucceſſors of Hugh Capet began to make to deliver them from the ſervile ſubjection they were under to ſo many tyrants, &c, Vol. III. book vi. chap. 11. 16.

conſcience, that they have been forced to ſet themſelves at eaſe by an abſolution from the pope. St. Lewis left no injunction ſo forceable to his ſon, as that of raiſing no money upon his ſubjects againſt their will, and without their conſent. Philip de Valois, who got rid of all ſuch ſcruples, found the conſequences of raiſing taxes, and ſaw his chief cities in arms againſt him. He aſſiſted, before he was king, at an aſſemblée des Notables, in the reign of Lewis ſurnamed Hutin, in which it was decreed, that every king ſhould, when he was conſecrated, take an oath to lay no new taxes upon his people without the authority of an aſſembly of the three eſtates. To this decree John I. and Charles V. ſubmitted, and made modeſt demands of ſupplies, which were granted them. A tax ‡ aſſeſſed upon particular people, with-

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‡ Moſt of the examples brought by the author in this place, that is, all thoſe preceding the reign of St. Lewis, are leſs applicable to the taille, than to any other taxes, equally inſupportable to a people fond of liberty, and prejudiced with the opinion, that the ſtrongeſt mark thereof, is not to make any contributions in obedience to the ſovereign without examining whether his demand of them is juſt or unjuſt, and whether they are required for his own benefit, or for the public good. M. de Sully is much to blame, in taking the part of the people in ſo unreaſonable a ſentiment, after himſelf had laid down the neceſſities of a great ſtate: this may therefore be looked upon as a ſtroke of vain declamation.

This, nevertheleſs, is no reaſon to forbid men of ſenſe from being of his opinion, ſo far as relates to the taille: thoſe who eſtabliſhed this tax, may be ſaid to have laid a greater weight on the people by the form of raiſing it, than by the charge itſelf. From hence I draw new inſtructions, in corroboration of the principles the foregoing remarks have endeavoured to eſtabliſh; for ſhould I be aſked why it is ſo, I would anſwer, becauſe it is a popular eſtabliſhment; not indeed as it is a charge on the people, for they would never have framed ſuch fetters for themſelves: on the contrary, it was in order to ſhake it off, they made ſo many violent efforts; but I call it popular, as to the manner of levying and impoſing it.

If thoſe of our kings who firſt made uſe of it, Charles VII. for example, had been maſter enough of their ſubjects, to be able to ſay, 'The ſtate is in want of a conſiderable new ſubſidy, pay me the tenth of all your effects; this ſum is wanting; don't you intermeddle, but leave the manner of raiſing it to me: it may reaſonably be ſuppoſed, ſome other means of collecting it would have been made uſe of, than thoſe purſued in raiſing the taille. But it was thought the leaſt intelliout an aſſembly of the ſtates, or conſent of the nation, was looked upon as not the leaſt evil in the reign of Charles VI. a reign ſo full of unfortunate events, that it may be called the grave of the French laws, and the French morals. Under Charles VII. who had the Engliſh to drive out of his country, that neceſſity which leſſened the murmurs of the people, encreaſed the evil. He had the addreſs to change that tribute into a ſtated and ſettled payment; which, from being a perſonal aſſeſſment, had the name of taille. It was however eſtabliſhed, in different provinces, in different forms: in ſome it was called a poll-tax, in others a tax upon eſtates, in others a mixed tax: it was fixed by Charles VII. at one million eight hundred thouſand livres. Let us now ſee what progreſs it had made from reign to reign, down to our time.

Lewis XI. augmented the taille to four millions ſeven hundred thouſand livres. In the year 1498, at the time of the death of Charles VIII. it appears, that there were paid into the exchequer, when all expences were deducted, four millions four hundred ſixty-one thouſand ſix hundred and nineteen livres; in 1515, at the death of Lewis XII. four millions eight hundred ſixty-five thouſand ſix hundred and ſeventeen livres. It made at once a prodigious advance under Francis I. who left it at his death raiſed to fourteen millions forty-four thouſand one hundred and fifteen livres. Henry II. left it at no more than

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gence which could be ſhewn to the people, was to leave them at leaſt a kind of liberty, in the manner of aſſeſſing or raiſing it, &c. Hence it comes, as our author ſays, that in ſome places it was capital, in others real, and in a third place mixed: all the changes which could afterwards be made in a building, ſtanding on ſo weak a foundation, were to prop it up, and to render it more inconvenient.

* Let this be an example of what popular wiſdom and management produces: the people, at this time, pay the full price of their miſtake; in all the old impoſitions this ill-timed complaiſance of the ſovereigns, which led them to ſoften, by a multiplicity of regulations, what ought to have been done, if poſſible, by one ſimple method, is perceptible.

twelve millions ninety-eight thouſand five hundred and ſixty-three livres. It continued to ſhrink in the two following reigns, being in the time of Francis II. only eleven millions one hundred and four thouſand nine hundred and ſeventy-one livres; and in that of Charles IX. but eight millions ſix hundred thirty-eight thouſand nine hundred and ninety-eight livres. The reign of Henry III. favoured it much, if we take a view of it, not as it ſtood at the time when he was ſtripped of great part of his kingdom, as about the year of his death, but in 1581 for inſtance, when it brought in thirty-one millions ſix hundred and forty-four thouſand four hundred livres. Henry the Great, inſtead of ſuffering himſelf to be carried away by a bad example, was content, though he had immenſe debts to clear, and great charges to ſupport, with receiving only ſixteen millions clear money, half from the tailles, and half from the farms.

If, notwithſtanding all this, Henry found means to put twenty millions into his coffers, as we ſhall find he did, he owed it to a frugality which was not known in thoſe reigns, and which would probably have been looked on as ſcandalous. Foreigners could no longer meddle in the finances with impunity. This year the elector palatine wrote to me from Heidelberg, earneſtly preſſing me to procure him the reimburſement of ſome money, which, he ſaid, he had lent to the king, and for which, in eight years, he had only drawn one ſingle aſſignment. Carl-Paul, a counſellor, and gentleman in ordinary to this elector, was ſent to me with great offers of ſervice from his maſter, to proſecute this affair. The place I held often procured me compliments from foreign princes. The duke of Savoy, when he ſent the ſieur Jacob to his majeſty, to congratulate him on the birth of his third ſon, ſent me, at the ſame time, a very polite and obliging letter.

The ducheſs of Lorrain's ſickneſs brought the duke of Mantua into Lorrain, and from thence into France. This princeſs was ſo ill after her lying-in, that the phyſicians long deſpaired of her life: ſhe had had but one child, which was a daughter, who was extremely well, and the mother was at length cured. Their majeſties appeared to be greatly intereſted in her recovery, and neglected nothing to make the duke of Mantua's ſtay in France agreeable to him: they gave him a great many fine ballets, and ſtill better repaſts, for which the king paid a ſevere penance, by the great quantity of medicines he was obliged to take afterwards. The duke of Mantua did not repaſs the Alps till the middle of October, carrying with him a large ſum of money, which he had won from the king at play. There were ſtill four thouſand piſtoles due to him when he went away, which, at parting, he deſired Henry to pay to his commiſſioner. His majeſty ſent me an order for it in a billet, which Edouard brought me.

THE negotiations for a peace, or a long truce, were ſtill continued in the Low Countries at the Hague, the place choſen for the conferences, but in ſuch a manner, that it was long believed the mark, which had been thought ſo near, would be removed for ever; ſuch difficulties aroſe through diſtruſt, enmity, and a diverſity of intereſt. A certain Spaniſh cordelier, who was employed very much in this affair by his catholic majeſty, paſſing through Paris, had the honour to be preſented to the king, whom he endeavoured to perſuade that the peace would be ſoon concluded. Don Pedro ‡ cauſed a report to be ſpread through all Paris, that the couriers, which were to carry the news of it to Spain, would ſpeedily arrive. The king, and all thoſe who were informed of the true ſtate of things, by the diſpatches ſent from Jeannin, and the reſt of his majeſty's agents in the Low Countries, could not give credit to theſe reports; and with reaſon, ſince from that time, till the end of September, and of October, and ſo on all the remaining part of the year, nothing was effected. It is not certain, that the obſtacle proceeded from the Spaniards: it is the ſafeſt way, therefore, to leave this point doubtful. As for the archdukes, they laboured in earneſt for the peace. His moſt Chriſtian majeſty, though contrary to his own intereſts, gave alſo the moſt pacific counſels: but things were brought to ſuch a point, that this was the only part Henry thought he ought to take.

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‡ Don Pedro was ambaſſador from Spain at the court of France; his preſence there was far from being agreeable to Henry IV. ſince he was not unacquainted with that miniſter's cabals, to engage his council in the Spaniſh intereſt. See Vittorio Siri, mem. recond. vol. I. Le Grain, Decade de Henry le Grand, b. x. L'Etoile, and other Hiſtorians. Le Grain relates the following repartee from Henry IV. to Don Pedro, who ſaying to him, he ſaw nobody ſo ill lodged at Fontainebleau as God, Henry made anſwer, "We Frenchmen lodge God in "our hearts, not between four walls like you Spaniards; and I ſhould "have a doubt, if you were even to lodge him in your hearts, as we do, "he

WITH reſpect to the prince of Orange, if he was not the ſole enemy to the peace, he was, at leaſt, the moſt declared one. Theſe are the reaſons and pretences made uſe of by him and his partiſans, to prevent its taking place: That whatever deſire Spain might appear to have, either for a peace or a long truce, yet ſhe would never agree to it, with the condition of renouncing, formally and expreſsly, all ſovereignty over the United Provinces; and yet, without this clauſe, theſe provinces could have no dependence upon treaties, ſince otherways the Spaniards would ſtill have a right to ſecure the harbours, forts, ſoldiers, ſailors; would draw to themſelves all the trade, and open, a ſecond time, the way to tyranny: that during the truce they would find means to lull all the beſt and wiſeſt of the people into a

“ he would there be in a lodging of ſtone. But don't you ſee, ſays he, “ afterwards, ſmiling, that my chapel is not yet finiſhed; I do not “ intend to leave it in the condition it now is; there are few gentle- “ men in my kingdom, who have not a chapel in their houſes, I do “ not deſign mine ſhall want one.”

lethargy, and put the diſaffected and mercenary among them into motion; that the catholic party in thoſe provinces, having already a ſtrong inclination for the Spaniſh dominion, would riſe, declare themſelves openly, and bring all, or the greateſt part of the country into their meaſures; ſo that when the truce was expired, Spain would have an opportunity to finiſh the war at one blow *; that the peace, if the treaty might be called ſo, had no ſecurity in a truce, which the king of Spain would break whenever his deſigns were ripe for execution. The princeſs of Orange wrote to me ſoon after in almoſt the ſame terms, except only, that, although ſhe obſerved to me that the troops, the towns, and even whole provinces were of her ſon-in-law's opinion, and faithfully devoted to the whole houſe of Naſſau, yet ſhe could not diſſemble, that the contrary party was at leaſt as ſtrong as theirs.

Prince Maurice, who thought in the ſame manner, did not fail to uſe his endeavours to gain the king: in October he ſent Lambert, the ſon, with a letter to his majeſty, in which he told him, he might give abſolute credit to whatever he ſhould ſay to him in his name. Lambert highly extolled his maſter's deſign: he endeavoured to perſuade the king, that things were brought to ſuch a point, that the marquis Spinoſa, the preſident Richardot, and the Spaniſh commiſſioners, had been thanked and diſmiſſed on the firſt of this month. All this ſo much the more ſurpriſed his majeſty's counſellors, who were preſent at this report of Lambert, as Berny, in the diſpatches he had ſent before, had acquainted the king, that the equipages of theſe Spaniſh deputies, and themſelves likewiſe, were expected at Bruſſels the 4th of October. They would have perſuaded his majeſty, that now both his friends and his enemies

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* Spain, in reality, renewed the war againſt the Flemings more vigorouſly than ever, in the year 1621, when the truce expired.

would think themſelves happy, to receive from him whatever conditions he ſhould be pleaſed to impoſe upon them. This was what Villeroi wrote to me when he gave me a full account of this whole affair; ſending me likewiſe to Gergeau, where I then was, a copy of the prince of Orange's letter. But the king was not ſo precipitate: Lambert's diſcourſe appeared to him, from ſeveral circumſtances, very doubtful. He ſaw no letter from the council of States. That from the prince ſeemed full of reſerve and artifice. Maurice himſelf had hitherto acted in a manner ſo little conformable to his profeſſions, that there was ſufficient reaſon for holding himſelf ſuſpected. When Lambert added, that Zealand would rather come under the dominion of the Engliſh, than conſent to an agreement with Spain; and that the Dutch entreated his majeſty would at leaſt keep himſelf neutral, if he would not aſſiſt his allies as formerly; ſince, if they only remained poſſeſſed of theſe towns, they would ſtill find employment for the Spaniards fifty years longer: Henry, in theſe words, ſaw nothing but an extravagant boaſt full of falſhood, or at leaſt of moſt groſs artifice; which appeared plainer when Lambert advanced a thouſand other things, that, if true, Jeannin could not have been ignorant of, and of which he had not given his majeſty any account. According to Lambert, Barnevelt and Aërſens were diſgraced, and even in danger of being proſecuted; and in ſeveral towns of the States it had been deliberated in their councils, whether they ſhould not take a reſolution to ſubmit themſelves to the French ſovereignty. Strange how all this could be carried on ſo ſecretly, that in Flanders people ſhould be wholly ignorant ſuch deſigns were forming: but indeed the diſcourſe of Lambert did not always agree with the letter he brought from the prince of Orange.

I am of opinion, that if his majeſty had ſeen probability in any of theſe propoſals, ſuch, for example, that of receiving the Dutch under his dominions, he would not have needed any ſpur to animate him to the undertaking; for he ſometimes could not hinder himſelf from being a little offended with Jeannin, for not turning his views that way: but at length Henry took a wiſer reſolution, which was quietly to hear and ſee all that paſſed, without appearing either willing to retard, or ſolicitous to accompliſh the peace; and ſuffer them to agree in whatever manner they pleaſed, without interpoſing in the affair. He ordered Jeannin to conduct himſelf by this plan; and willing to have my advice, he ſent me an exact account of every thing by Villeroi, and ſent Lambert to me likewiſe. This agent talked to me in the ſame manner as he had done to his majeſty; but I had, in the princeſs of Orange's letter alone, a good preſervative againſt his arts. He could find nothing to anſwer me, although probably he was not well pleaſed with my ſincerity; nor with the epithets of baſe and ungrateful, which I ſo freely beſtowed on the States.

I ANSWERED Villeroi only by letters; and in theſe I did not diſcloſe all my thoughts, but referred him to my return for a fuller explanation. It was to the king alone that I choſe to declare my true ſentiments of all that paſſed in Flanders. Although prince Maurice had not always exactly followed the plan of conduct he had laid down, and had even ſometimes deviated from it plainly enough: yet it was not either ſtrange or ſurpriſing, that he ſhould endeavour to ſupport, even to the laſt extremity, a reſolution in which his honour could not but be deeply intereſted: but as to Henry, it did not become a great captain, and a powerful monarch, to intrude himſelf into affairs in which his interpoſition was not ſought for; his dignity required that he ſhould examine well what was propoſed, and not act precipitately. With reſpect to the States, if it was with their concurrence that Maurice made theſe offers, it was done too late and unſeaſonably: they had committed faults againſt his majeſty, which they ſought to repair, or rather they added to that ingratitude they had ſhewn to the king, the ſhameful deſign of making him ſtill their dupe: the offer of Zealand to England was a mere fable, and all the reſt colluſion, deceit, and artifice, to which it was not fit his majeſty ſhould anſwer any otherways, than by continuing to interpoſe in the affairs of theſe provinces, juſt as much as was convenient for his intereſt and his glory.

It was partly on this account that Henry ſo earneſtly wiſhed for my return from Gergeau. In Flanders every thing continued in a ſtate of doubt aud uncertainty, of which all the advices that came from thence partook. It happened that the original of the inſtructions given by the archdukes to the deputies, when they were ſent to the Hague, fell into the hands of the prince of Orange; either the paper had been forgot by the preſident Richardot *, or was ſtolen from him; or he ſuffered it expreſsly to be ſeen to pleaſe the catholics, to whom thoſe inſtructions were very favourable. Maurice exclaimed loudly againſt it, and often made uſe of it to animate his partizans; the conferences often languiſhed, but were not interrupted: war was become impoſſible, and conſequently an agreement was abſolutely neceſſary. This only was paſt a doubt, that whatever ſincerity both parties might ſeem to profeſs, yet they ſought carefully to prevent a true interpretation of their words, that they might not want a motive for renewing the war as ſoon as they could do it with any probability of ſucceſs. If therefore France loſt a favourable opportunity for humbling her rival, ſhe had reaſon to expect that a much better would preſent itſelf, provided that, till then, ſhe took care to manage her ſtrength. "I am ſtill of opinion," thus

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* John Richardot, preſident of the privy council in the Low Countries, was a good negotiator: he had been concerned in the treaty of Vervins. He died the next year.

writ his majeſty to me, “ that in this affair God will
“ ſtrike a blow which men little expect, and which
“ will blaſt all their deſigns: thus have I ſeen it
“ happen during thirty years, and always to my ad-
“ vantage; may it ſtill be ſo, and I entreat with my
“ whole heart, that my faults and ingratitude may
“ not hinder it.”

By able politicians another obſervation was made ſtill more important than the preceding; which was, that the power of Spain was now beginning to decline. If they judged thus, it was not ſurely on account of the reſpect ſhewn by the king of Spain and the archdukes for his majeſty's agents, particularly Jeannin; the reſtrictions ſhe kept with regard to the Dutch made it evident, that ſhe ſtill poſſeſſed the ſame arrogance and ambition; and that ſhe either would not confeſs, or was herſelf ignorant of, her weakneſs; but when a ſtate is ſeen to want ſtrength and good conduct, when fortune and opportunities are let ſlip, its decline is then no longer on the foot of a mere conjecture, but may be pronounced abſolutely certain.

Of this, however, we had other proofs from what paſſed upon the frontiers of Navarre and Bearn. The Spaniards having renewed their former quarrels concerning the boundaries of theſe two kingdoms, Henry, who was determined to give up nothing, writ to me to confer with the chancellor about this affair, and to ſend one of the privy counſellors to talk of it to the Spaniſh ambaſſador, rather to clear himſelf of the conſequences this quarrel might produce, than with any expectation that it would be compoſed by that method. His majeſty, with the ſame view, writ to La-Force †, to whom alone all the authority over that frontier was confided, to ſupport his rights by all the moſt ſpeedy and efficacious means he could think of; and as it could not be expected, that the inhabitants of that country could furniſh him with great ſupplies, I received orders to reimburſe him all the expences he had already been at, and to provide him with a ſufficient fund for the future.

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† James Nompar de Caumont, afterwards duke de La-Force.

HOWEVER, theſe precautions were all uſeleſs. Upon the firſt complaints made by La-Force to the viceroy of Arragon, he was promiſed a ratification of all that he ſhould demand, and, contrary to the cuſtom of the council of Madrid, without any delay. The kingdoms of Navarre and Arragon were full of diſaffected perſons, who, upon any appearance of a rupture, were ready to join the enemy; and the council of Spain was not ignorant, that many of them had already offered their ſervice to France. La-Force, to whom they applied, gave his majeſty notice of it; and added, that although he was convinced no great dependence could be placed on the reſtleſs and uncertain temper of theſe people, yet an opportunity now offered which could not fail of giving ſucceſs to their deſigns, provided only that it was immediately made uſe of: that the Spaniards, with all their art and ſkill, could not conceal their weak and exhauſted condition, which no one was any longer ignorant of; and that the affairs of the government were in the utmoſt confuſion. La-Force had never before writ either to his majeſty or me in terms like theſe; and he was more likely than any other perſon to know the true ſtate of things, as well with regard to this as to another faction, which gave great apprehenſions to the council of Madrid, though it was formed only by the wretched remains of a people almoſt wholly extirpated; I mean the Moors.

To make this underſtood, it is neceſſary I ſhould give a place here to a tranſaction which I could not introduce elſewhere without interrupting the narration. Henry, when only king of Navarre, was ſtrongly perſuaded in his own mind, that he ſhould one day aſſiſt himſelf againſt Spain with theſe domeſtic enemies, leſs conſiderable indeed for their number,

ber, than the deep reſentment they were believed to preſerve againſt their oppreſſors. The Moors, on their ſide, learning by public report that the proteſtant party, which they knew to be very powerful in France, and always oppoſite to Spain, had a king of Navarre at their head; that is, a prince from two powerful motives the enemy of that crown, began again to ſollicit the intereſt of all thoſe perſons who could be uſeful to them in procuring his protection; and among others, they applied to Meſſieurs de St. Geniés, and D'Odou, promiſing them to excite an almoſt general inſurrection in Spain, provided they were ſure of being ſupported. All they demanded was a general, and ſome good officers, to whom they promiſed an abſolute obedience. They offered to furniſh all the money that was neceſſary for this enterpriſe, aſſuring them that they would have reaſon to be ſatisfied, both with the number of their ſoldiers, and their courage and reſolution. An aſylum in France, with the free enjoyment of their effects, and the liberty of their perſons, were all the conditions annexed by them to this treaty. As to religion, they ſeemed diſpoſed to a very eaſy compoſition, ſince they offered to embrace that which was profeſſed in the kingdom; not the Roman catholic religion, for the tyranny of the inquiſition had rendered this ſecond ſervitude more inſupportable than the firſt, but the proteſtant. They found that it would be no difficult matter to accommodate themſelves to a form of worſhip unincumbered with images and ceremonies, and of which one ſole God, equally adored, and invoked by all, was almoſt the only object.

St. Geniés, and D'Odou, did not fail to make a faithful report of all this to the king of Navarre, when he took that journey into Bearn and Foix, which we have already mentioned. Henry ordered them to get exact information from the Moors what forces they could muſter, what arms they had occaſion for, what money they could promiſe to contribute, and by what methods they propoſed to begin an enterpriſe of ſuch conſequence. Theſe two gentlemen employed, at firſt, only one perſon in this negociation, who was an officer, called captain Danguin; but in proportion as their correſpondences increaſed, they employed twelve others; and the ſecret, though entruſted to ſo many perſons, was ſo carefully kept, that the Spaniards had not the leaſt ſuſpicion of this conſpiracy, 'till they received notice of it from Nicholas L'Hote, that ſecretary of Villeroi whoſe hiſtory has been already related. They afterwards made a full diſcovery, and the affair appeared to be of ſo much the more importance, as it was proved that this party, at firſt very inconſiderable, was then joined by more than five hundred thouſand perſons. Two things had concurred to make it ſo formidable; firſt, the ſuccours they had the addreſs and leiſure to procure from the Turks, the great enemies of Spain; and, ſecondly, the intereſt that many natural Spaniards took in the affair.

The council of Madrid, upon the firſt notice of this rebellion, having deliberated whether it would not be proper to clear the country of theſe Moors, by obliging them all to repaſs the ſea, communicated this reſolution to the nobility and gentry of the kingdom of Valentia, where it was received ſo ill, that a ſedition was raiſed in ſeveral provinces, the nobility of which, keeping many of theſe Moors in ſlavery, could not conſent to their baniſhment, without loſing, at the ſame time, one fourth part of their revenues. They therefore took up arms againſt thoſe who came to ſignify to them the new order of the council of Spain. The viceroy thought to have appeaſed this firſt tumult, by ſending the principal officer for the adminiſtration of juſtice to the mutineers, whom the chancery called the regent. This regent was a fearful old man, who, ſeeing himſelf inſtantly ſurrounded with arms and a furious mob, fell dead in the midſt of them.

In ſuch a conjuncture the Spaniſh council could no longer diſſemble their weakneſs. It was indeed but too palpable, by their tamely ſuffering, for a long time, a revolt in the midſt of the kingdom, without uſing any efforts to quell it. The Moors, who had not expected to be ſo cautiouſly dealt with, became more bold. They renewed their ſollicitations to Henry, who could not now, as when he was king of Navarre only, evade their requeſt by alledging that he was too weak, and had too many difficulties to encounter to make any great efforts in their favour. The Moors, determined, at all events, to ſhake off the Spaniſh yoke, entreated him only to receive them into the number of his ſubjects, on whatever conditions he pleaſed: but the ſame conſiderations which hindered Henry from openly eſpouſing the party of the United Provinces, on an occaſion wherein he was more nearly intereſted, forbad him likewiſe from declaring himſelf the deliverer of a people who were more immediately the ſubjects of Spain, at a great diſtance, and who demanded a naval armament, for the centre of the revolt was in Valentia, Murcia, and Granada; without taking in many other reaſons drawn from the character of this people, and without laying any ſtreſs upon the uſual viciſſitudes of war, which diſtance always conceals, or partly diſguiſes. All this conſidered, his majeſty certainly could not be blamed for not anſwering more favourably the deſires of the Mooriſh nation. I leave the reader to judge, if, during this whole time, the council of Madrid, which was well informed of all that was projecting, could be very eaſy. They had ſuffered, for five years, a malady which they had but too great a certainty of, to take deep root. At length they thought proper to make an effort, and reſumed their deſign of ſhipping off all the Moors that were in

Spain, a deſign which was now believed more difficult to execute than before, as a report was ſpread, that the Turks were cruiſing near Majorca to prevent the blow. It was therefore neceſſary to fit out a fleet to oppoſe theirs. October came without any thing appearing either on one ſide or the other; and the whole year paſſed, during which no motion was made by the Spaniards, who knew that the Barbarians waited for them with a body of ten thouſand foot, and five thouſand horſe, fully determined to defend themſelves bravely. The battle however proved favourable to the Spaniards, and time furniſhed them with the means of totally ridding themſelves of an enemy * who had no longer any reſources. This, however, could not be done without the loſs of five hundred thouſand ſubjects to Spain †; for that was the number of perſons ſhe baniſhed out of her ſtates, after depriving them of all their effects.

The emperor treated the city of Donavert, in Germany, with equal ſeverity, and with leſs right to do ſo. He ſeized it, although it was one of the imperial cities, deprived it of the greateſt part of its privi-

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* The Moors, with one Barbaroſſa at their head, gave battle to the Spaniards, in which they were defeated, and were obliged to leave Spain the year after. See Le Merc. Franc. and other hiſtorians.

† Others make them amount to ſeven or eight hundred thouſand: a wound to Spain which has never yet been healed: but from whence no benefit accrued to us, tho' it was eaſy for us to have had advantage from it: for though we had not given aſſiſtance to thoſe unfortunate people, as cardinal Richelieu afterwards did to the Portugueſe, on a ſimilar occaſion, we might, at leaſt, have given them an aſylum in France, had it been only in the uncultivated parts of Bourdeaux, where they in vain, as it is ſaid, deſired leave to ſettle. This falſe ſtep of the government is judiciouſly pointed out by the author of L'Eſſai politique ſur le Commerce. "To cultivate barren ground," ſays he on this ſubject, "is conquering a new country without prejudice to any one." It may be ſaid, that the ſame reaſons which made it expedient to drive the Moors out of Spain, were equally ſtrong againſt their reception in France. But it would have been eaſy to take the advantage of the miſerable condition they were in, to have impoſed on them whatever terms might have been thought expedient.

privileges, and its inhabitants of the liberty of conſcience. This violence excited many murmurs there, and was the cauſe of many diſorders.

# BOOK XXVI.

ON the firſt day of the year, 1609, I went, as uſual, to preſent the king with ſome gold medals, of which the ſubject was, the glory he had acquired in reconciling the Pope and the Venetians, the Spaniards and the Dutch, and ſome other princes of Europe. After a few moments of converſation upon indifferent matters, Henry took me aſide to a window to tell me, that he deſired I would compoſe for him four ſtates of accounts, in the manner of ſeveral others I had already given him: the firſt, of the equivalents gathered in the twelve generalities of the kingdom; the ſecond, of all the claims, and duties, which make part of the royal revenues; the third, of the principal levies of the taille, called the ordinary levies, from the year 1599 to 1609, taking in theſe two laſt years; the fourth, of the levies of the taille, called the great increaſe, or extraordinary increaſe, during the eleven laſt years. I want, ſaid Henry, to ſhew them to ſome perſons who think they have great ſkill in the finances, although they know nothing of the matter; and to others who admire their method, defective as it is.

THERE was no neceſſity for this prince to make any excuſe to me for this demand; the pleaſure it gave me to ſee him enter with me into all the particularities of the government, left me no inclination to examine into the motive of this attention. I perceived that he had, for ſome time, made a ſtudy of my manner of conducting affairs, as well general as particular; and that by aſking me ſometimes for a ſtate, ſometimes for a memorial, one day for ſome inſtructions, the next for an explanation of them, all theſe pieces would ſoon compoſe a complete ſyſtem of the finances, and other parts of the ſtate. But I had no uneaſineſs upon this account; for whether Henry did this for his own inſtruction, or that he had a deſign to form other ſtateſmen upon my maxims, through a fear that I ſhould not always continue faithful to him, or whether he had an intention to employ me in other affairs, either within or without the kingdom, which would not give me leiſure for theſe, the manner which he behaved to me † gave me no reaſon to imagine that there was any thing in this procedure, but what was wiſe, good, and even advantageous for me.

When he came to the arſenal at the end of the month, I gave him theſe four ſtates, which I ſhall not tranſcribe here; but only content myſelf with obſerving, that the total of the firſt made it appear that the equivalents amounted to one hundred and fifty-one thouſand ſeventy-three livres, a ſum greatly inferior to what many perſons imagined, who had ſuggeſted to the king, that he ought to get a ſol in the livre by all. In the ſecond, notwithſtanding the great application I had given to it, ſome terms had eſcaped me, which the king could not underſtand;

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† If we give credit to the author of L'Hiſt. de la Mere & du Fils, we ſhall find Henry IV. had other motives for this behaviour to the duke of Sully. "He was, ſays this author, far from being pleaſed "with the conduct of M. de Sully, and had a mind to take the ma- "nagement of the finances out of his hands, in order to put them "under the direction of Arnaud. He had often told the queen he "could no longer bear with his ill humours. His diſcontent with "the duke was fixed, and he was reſolved to ſtrip him of his office; "but the time for it was not yet proper, &c." But the reſt of this book will furniſh us with ſo ſtrong proofs of the great confidence Henry IV. had in M. de Sully, that we may conclude this author was taken in the trap, which another writer of thoſe times informs us, this prince and his miniſter frequently laid for thoſe that were too credulous, when, in order to do their buſineſs the better, they thought proper to aſſume all the external appearances of a real miſunderſtanding, which made the courtiers ſay of them, *Like maſter, like man.*

ſtand; but I promiſed him to make it complete within the year. The total of the third was one hundred and ſeven millions four hundred forty-five thouſand three hundred and fifty-three livres, ſixteen ſols, eleven deniers: that of the fourth, fifty-two millions one hundred forty-four thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-nine livres, twelve ſols, ſix deniers. Henry only looked at the titles of theſe papers then, and gave them to La-Varenne, with orders to return them to him when he returned to the Louvre, and was in his library with Berenghen. I likewiſe gave him a liſt of all the particular accounts, which made part of the general account of the finances, or was inſerted in that account †.

As Henry went to Chatillon two days afterwards, I did not ſuppoſe he had examined, with any great degree of attention, this long liſt of accounts, which gave riſe to a little debate. One day, when his majeſty was diſcourſing with the chancellor, Villeroi, and me, and that the converſation had turned upon this ſubject, I happened to ſay, that, beſides thoſe accounts which I left to the care of my ſecretaries, there were above a hundred which I was obliged to write with my own hand, at the beginning of each year. The king ſeemed aſtoniſhed, and Villeroi likewiſe. I am perſuaded, ſaid Sillery in his ſoft gracious manner, that there muſt be a great number; but I cannot conceive how there ſhould be a hundred. I think I have a little knowledge of the matter. You have done well, monſieur, replied I, to ſay ſomething; but you would have done ſtill better to have ſaid nothing, ſince you are talking of matters that you can be informed of by no body but myſelf. There needed no more to prove which of us was in the right, than juſt to look into the liſt I had given the king, wherein thoſe, and only thoſe were comprehended. Having a copy of it in a bag of papers, which one of my ſecretaries had brought with him, I ordered him to draw near: Sillery himſelf read the paper, by which his majeſty was convinced I had ſaid no more than the truth.

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† Theſe accounts are ſet forth at large in Sully's Memoirs, in the IIId. and following Volumes.

While the king was at Chantilly, he wrote me the following billet, dated Wedneſday, March 25: "My friend, I mount my horſe, after dinner, to "go to Luſarche, where I intend to lye this night. "To-morrow I ſhall come very early to Paris; "and, as I intend to dine with you, provide for "twelve perſons, and let us have ſome fiſh. Adieu, "my dear friend." He came accordingly, and I gave him a dinner to his taſte. After the cloths were taken away, I ordered cards and dice to be brought, and laid a purſe of four thouſand piſtoles upon the table for his majeſty, and another, with a like ſum, to lend to thoſe lords that accompanied him, and who, not expecting to play, might not have money about them. Henry was pleaſed with this ceremony. "Come hither, grand maſter, ſaid "he to me, and embrace me; for I love you, and "I have reaſon to do ſo. I am ſo agreeably ſitu"ated here, added he, that I am reſolved to ſup "and lye here. I have ſome reaſons for not going "to the Louvre to-day, which you ſhall know after "we have done play; and, in the mean time, order "three coaches to be got ready to carry me an air"ing, after which you and I will have ſome diſ"courſe together: but do not admit any company "while I am here, except thoſe I ſhall ſend for. I "expect to find no one here at my return." The king having paſſed the whole day entirely to his ſatisfaction, he deſired that I would give him a dinner the next day likewiſe. He continued great part of the morning ſhut up with me in my cloſet, diſcourſing upon many things, which I am not at liberty to mention. His majeſty read the accounts I had given him with great pleaſure, and ſaid to me aloud, as he went out of the cloſet, "You have "given me papers with which I am highly pleaſed; "but there are ſtill many particulars which you "muſt explain to me in writing: for I ſhall not "remember all you have ſaid."

All the company gathering about the king, he declared publicly his deſign of paſſing, in the ſame manner, two or three days each month at the arſenal. He commanded me to have a hall, a chamber, a wardrobe, and a cloſet fitted up for him, without encroaching upon any of the apartments of my family; telling me, that whenever he came, for the future, he would neither be attended by his own officers, nor bring any of his cooks along with him; but that I ſhould treat him as now: adding, in a moſt obliging manner, that every way, he was of opinion, he could not be better than in my hands; but that as it was not juſt this confidence ſhould bring an increaſe of expence upon me, he would give me a gratuity of ſix thouſand crowns a year for that purpoſe only: and this he repeated again at dinner.

Before we ſat down to table, the converſation, between the fifteen or twenty perſons who were in the king's retinue, happening to turn upon thoſe great men whoſe actions are celebrated in hiſtory, Henry aſked me which of them all I moſt wiſhed he ſhould reſemble. It was not eaſy to anſwer this queſtion by a ſingle word, and the rather as Henry added, that I muſt not only have regard to their conduct and perſonal merit, but likewiſe to every thing that a man might reaſonably wiſh for; ſuch as the qualities of the body, health, and that concurrence of circumſtances by which a man is pronounced happy. To decide this queſtion, it was neceſſary to examine and compare thoſe heroes one with another; and to ſay the truth, I was not ſorry that ſuch an opportunity offered to cover with ſhame ſeveral perſons in the company, for their abſolute ignorance of things, which every man of birth and figure ſhould have, at leaſt, ſome ſlight knowledge of. The king comprehended my deſign, by the turn of my compliment to him, in my firſt reply to his queſtion. "I find, ſaid he, that you "are not going to appear a man of few words; "but I am reſolved to hear all you have to ſay, "which will be full as pleaſing, and more advan-"tageous to me, than if I had gone, as I intended, "to ſee them play at mall till your dinner was "ready."

Accordingly I began to give an exact repreſentation of all thoſe whom antiquity ſtiles illuſtrious men, among whom I did not forget ſuch of our monarchs as had been dignified with that title; as Clovis, Charlemagne, Hugh Capet, Philip Auguſtus, St. Lewis, Charles V. Charles VII. and Lewis XII. The quality of enemies of France did not ſeem to me a ſufficient reaſon for excluding the great names of Edward III. and Charles V. I named none without making their characters known to the company, at leaſt, in general, by ſtrokes, which, though ſlight, for the ſake of brevity, yet diſplayed their good and bad qualities, and the happy or unfortunate events of their reigns. It is now your part, Sire, ſaid I, (after I had finiſhed this enumeration, which had obliged me to continue ſpeaking a long time) to declare which of theſe great kings you would chuſe to reſemble, and to examine whether you would not loſe by the compariſon; you, who, in many things, have certainly ſurpaſſed them all. "Before I decide this point, replied his "majeſty, it is neceſſary, I ſhould conſider more "attentively what you have ſaid, as well good as "ill, concerning each of theſe princes: but your "dinner, which is ſerved (for indeed we were in-"formed that it was time to place ourſelves at ta-"ble) will not afford us leiſure for it now; there-"fore we muſt defer it till another time. How-"ever, I deſire you will reduce your diſcourſe to "writing; after which I will tell you what I think "of it, as well as of your laſt words, which you "only added, ſaid this prince with a gracious air, "to make your repaſt more agreeable."

While we were at table, ſome of the company, to ſhew their reading, renewed the ſubject we had juſt been treating; and mentioned ſeveral circumſtances in hiſtory with great oſtentation: but, at the ſame time, confounded perſons and things in ſo ridiculous a manner, that the king could not help laughing at them, while he made me a compliment upon the ſtrength of my memory. I ſuffered the king to remain in this advantageous opinion of me till we roſe from table, when I told him, in private, the fortunate accident to which it was owing; for I happened, three days before, to meet with an extract of the lives of illuſtrious men, which I had made during the time that I employed myſelf in the ſtudy of hiſtory; and, that very day, had made it the ſubject of converſation with ſome of my friends, which had recalled all my former ideas, and furniſhed me with thoſe circumſtances I had related. This learned ſcene was ſucceeded by cards, dice, and piſtoles. I went, in the mean time, into the hall, where I ſpared his majeſty the fatigue of giving audience, he being employed more to his taſte; for he gained, that afternoon, two thouſand five hundred piſtoles, and came out in very good humour to take an airing in the coaches I had ordered to be prepared for him, as he had done the evening before, after which he returned to the Louvre.

Five or ſix days after I had the honour to treat and lodge the king at the arſenal, he was informed that ſome reports were ſpread in ſeveral provinces relating to things, which, he imagined, were only known to himſelf and me: for indeed, he had imparted them to me with the utmoſt ſecrecy. For ſome days he ſuſpected that I had been indiſcreet in divulging theſe ſecrets, while I, tho' he often aſked me who were thoſe intimate friends I had in Bourbonnois and Berry, had not the leaſt doubt of his ſuſpicion. At length he called me to him one day, "Come hither, grand maſter, ſaid he to me, and an-"ſwer truly to the queſtions I am going to aſk you." I promiſed faithfully to do ſo; but with this condition, that if his queſtions related to any thing, wherein, by anſwering, I might diſpleaſe him, that he ſhould command me abſolutely to ſpeak my ſentiments freely, and promiſe not to be offended if I obeyed him. He replied, that his queſtions were not of that nature; and then opening his whole heart to me, I juſtified myſelf by oaths, which perfectly convincing him of my innocence, his vexation was ſucceeded by a ſurpriſe which I felt in no leſs a degree than himſelf.

However, it was not long before I unravelled this myſtery. A letter, written by father Cotton to father Ignatius, a jeſuit at Moulins, was brought to me in a packet that came from Bourges, and laid open the whole affair. With this letter, which filled me with a real joy, I went to wait upon the king, who was arrived at the Louvre with the queen, whom he had gone as far as Anet to meet. After ſome converſation upon Anet and Chantilly, I ſaid to him, "Sire, the other day, you ordered me to ſwear that I would tell you the truth: do not be offended if I entreat you, in my turn, to tell me whether you have never mentioned, to any other than me, thoſe things you accuſe me of having revealed: if you have not, certainly there are ſome perſons about you who have a familiar ſpirit, and can dive into the moſt ſecret thoughts." The king ſmiled, and lightly tapped my cheek; then embracing me, "I am too deſirous that you ſhould be "always ſincere with me, ſaid he, to give you an "example of inſincerity. I confeſs then, that I "have mentioned thoſe affairs both to father Cotton "and Beringhen; but I can anſwer for the laſt,

" that he has never revealed them." " Neither is " it he, but the jeſuit, ſaid I; and this letter," giving it into his hands, " will prove it." His majeſty read it; and here it follows tranſcribed entire:

" Rev. father, Pax Chriſti. I never wrote ſo " ſeldom before, or deſired to write ſo often. Your " reverence may, if you pleaſe, lay the fault upon " my buſineſs, particularly at this time. M. de " Citeaux will be ſatisfied with an abbey near his " own, which is, at preſent, in the hands of a canon " of the holy chapel, ſeventy years old; and, in " return for the ſaid abbey, will procure to be " granted by a general chapter, which will be held " after Whitſuntide, whatever we deſire of Belle-" branche. There is a diſturbance at Orleans " about the buſineſs of the college, by ſome ſecret " practices; but God will direct all. The king " has written to the mayor and aldermen, to M. " d'Orleans, M. the lieutenant-general, M. the " prevôt, to his attorney, and to M. de La Chatre. " I join my letters to M. D'Eſcures, who ſets out " to-morrow, and promiſes to bring every thing to " a concluſion. The king has alſo given thirty " thouſand livres to La Fleche, upon the advice " which I communicated to your reverence. His " majeſty goes to Chantilly on Tueſday, and the " queen, four days afterwards, to Chartres, who " will go and meet him at Anet, and then come " here and to Fontainebleau. That paſſion you " know of ſtill continues, notwithſtanding which, " the marriages of M. the prince, and M. de Ven-" dome will be celebrated after Eaſter. All is again " upon a good footing with the man of the arſenal, " whatever endeavours have been uſed to prevent " it. The eldeſt ſon of M. de Crequy is to have " the young de Verneuil; and the treaty of mar-" riage between the marquis de Roſny and the eldeſt " daughter of that nobleman ſtill goes forward: for " the father will not hear of breaking it off. M.

" des Yveteaux is employed in the affair. The ſieur " Collin has demanded permiſſion to ſtay in the " college du Mont till the middle of Auguſt; but " M. Savary will not agree to his ſtaying longer " than till Eaſter. The edict againſt duels is loudly " called for. The preachers have done their duty " concerning it; but father Gontry diſguſts the king " from time to time, tho' I am endeavouring to " ward off the blow. He ſays, that his ſermons are " ſeditious, and that they will one day give riſe to a " ſchiſm in our religion, or in the church. M. " Bremont is reſolved to enter into our ſociety. " You will ſee his laudable inclination by the in-" cloſed letter, with one from the reverend father de " La-Tour, which I found upon my table without " knowing how it came there. M. de Bourges told " me this day, that father Sallian is very well ſatis-" fied, and has loſt nothing by his change. It is " given out, that father Changer has changed; a " thing that has been long dreaded. I am reconciled " to M. the count of Soiſſons, and upon better " terms with him than ever; but I have had neither " victuals nor money ſince January. The queen " took me with her to Chartres, and places greater " confidence in me than uſual. M. de La-Varenne " ſays, that he is very willing to ſerve your bro-" ther; but not in the way you propoſe: for it is " impoſſible to introduce the uſe of keeping horſes " to lett, without hurting the relays and poſts; but " he offers to do any thing elſe for him that is in " his power. The reverend father Raimond has been " here, and has brought the ſum of four hundred " livres for alms, without the materials of Talan " for ſome part of them, which M. Le-Grand pro-" miſed him. Our brother Paran is now diſcharged " from the exerciſe of this office; for I have an " anſwer from Rome, by which I have been inform-" ed, that the union has been approved by our holy " father the pope, and the alms given by his holi-

"neſs ſolely upon my account, "quaſi fuit ejus "benevolentiæ." I have delayed reviſing and printing my book till the ſummer, or till after autumn. "The truce, for nine years, in Flanders is almoſt "determined. Ten of our fathers have been taken "coming from the Balearean iſlands to Spain, by "Simon Danſa, a Dutch corſair, who has a wife at "Marſeilles. The king is endeavouring to procure "their freedom. Notwithſtanding ſome little ſallies of ill humour, he favours and loves the ſociety. "Quod ſupereſt," I am in great need of "ſpiritual ſuccours; "Oraque pro paupere," who "is your Reverence's moſt affectionate

"And moſt humble ſervant,

Paris, March 18,
1609.

PETER COTTON."

P. S. "THE marchioneſs de Meſnelay is reſolved to take the veil, notwithſtanding all the entreaties of her friends to the contrary. M. Avias, "rector of the chief church, lies at the point of "death: his diſtemper is a ſpotted fever: he is a "good prieſt, a faithful friend, and is going to his "God."

HENRY read this letter twice from beginning to end; and although he concealed from me great part of his thoughts, yet I read in his countenance the uneaſineſs it gave him. "I muſt confeſs," ſaid he to me, "that there is more prudence and fidelity in "your actions, and more truth and ſincerity in "your words, obſtinate huguenot as you are, than "in many catholics, and even eccleſiaſtics, who "make profeſſion of great piety and regularity of "conduct." Upon the approach of M. the count of Soiſſons, he left me to go to this prince, to whom I believed he related all, and even ſhewed him the letter, in which he had a place as well as others. I was extremely glad that I had kept a copy of this letter: for his majeſty would never return me the original.

Father Cotton was very uneaſy † at the accident which had happened to his letter, but he comforted himſelf a little, when he was told, that I had neither ſhewn it nor mentioned the contents to any one but the king. He thought he owed me ſome acknowledgment for this moderation; and likewiſe, that ſome trifling juſtification was neceſſary. A letter I received from him, at his return from a journey he had taken into one of the provinces, was calculated to ſerve both theſe purpoſes. His letter was dated from Fontainebleau, where the court then was, and ſent to me at Paris. He took occaſion to praiſe the goodneſs of my heart, and the ſweetneſs of my temper; ſince all the endeavours that had been uſed to give me a bad impreſſion of him, had not, he ſaid, been able to make any alteration in my kindneſs to him. He acknowledged, that a man, leſs generous than myſelf, would have made this letter a pretence for preſerving ſome reſentment againſt him. He did not ſay why; for doubtleſs, in his opinion, the terms in which he had expreſſed himſelf concerning me, were not a ſufficient cauſe for the anger of a generous man: nor, indeed, would I allow myſelf to be offended by them. Father Cotton muſt certainly underſtand his own meaning better than any other perſon; and if he was conſcious of having intended any injury to "the man of the arſenal," he would not have had the confidence to entreat him, as he did, in this letter, to remember the building of the jeſuits church, and the apartments deſtined for their claſſes, at Poitiers, by verifying the accounts in which ſuch expences as theſe were comprehended. Here he again introduced an eulogium upon my charity, followed by an ardent prayer that God would finiſh his work by inſpiring me with right ſentiments of the good religion *.

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† In the Anti-Cotton, p. 461, we find that father Cotton was in diſgrace with the king for ſix weeks, for having diſcloſed his ſecrets to a Spaniſh provincial: but this is one of thoſe libels which deſerve no credit. On a ſimilar occaſion, Henry IV. ſaid to his miniſters, taking the preſident Jeannin by the hand, "I will be anſwerable for "this good man; but it is proper for the reſt of you to examine "your own conduct."

Not long after this affair, I plainly perceived, that ſome new, and more conſiderable cauſe of uneaſineſs had been given the king ; for all his endeavours to diſſipate his diſquiet, ſerved only to diſcover, and probably to encreaſe it. He ſtaid eight whole days out of Paris, indulging his melancholy in places where it could not be obſerved, at Livry, and another houſe belonging to Montbazon. When he returned he paſſed moſt of his days in hunting, doubtleſs, that he might be longer and more frequently alone. This, however, was not the true remedy for his diſeaſe. He came, at length, to the

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† From what follows, as extracted out of the Hiſtory of France, it will appear M. de Sully did not ſo readily forgive father Cotton : “Towards the end of this year, the jeſuits having obtained a gift from the king of a hundred thouſand francs, to finiſh the building of their chapel at La-Flêche, came to M. de Sully for payment of it. Father Cotton told him, with his uſual ſmoothneſs, that his majeſty had made the ſociety a ſmall preſent of a hundred thouſand livres for the chapel of La-Flêche. How, ſays the duke of Sully, do you call a hundred thouſand livres a ſmall preſent for you ? The king gives you too much ; but you will get nothing of me. Father Cotton deſired to know the reaſon of this refuſal. I do not think myſelf obliged, anſwered the duke, nor will I give any to you ; but I ſhall give my reaſons for it to the king. Father Cotton complained of this to the king, who, to ſatisfy him, publicly chid the duke for it : and told him he would have his commands obeyed. M. de Sully, nevertheleſs, did not do what the king had ordered, in regard to the jeſuits chapel at La-Flêche.” The ſame author obſerves, in another place, that it is very well known, at that time, that when the king and his miniſter thus appeared of oppoſite ſentiments in public, it had often been privately concerted between them. What gives one reaſon to believe that had been the caſe then was, “That his majeſty, as this writer adds, at this very time, gave the duke thirty thouſand crowns for a new-year's-gift, inſtead of twenty thouſand, which he uſed to give him before : with which the jeſuits were not at all pleaſed.” Anno 1609.

arſenal to ſeek ſome comfort in diſcloſing his thoughts to me. He came up directly to my cloſet, without permitting any one to inform me of his arrival, and tapped at my door himſelf. I opened it, expecting nothing leſs than ſuch a viſit, and was yet in my morning dreſs, with my night-gown and cap on. He bid me good morning; aſked me what I was doing; then, ordering all that were preſent to withdraw, he came into the cloſet with me, and ſhut the door; while I, with a fixed attention, beheld his unquiet motions, now ſeating himſelf, now riſing, and walking haſtily about the room, all ſigns of the agitation of his mind, as well as the vivacity with which he talked for more than two hours that we continued alone. I ſhall have no reaſon for diſguiſing the ſubject of this agitation, or concealing our diſcourſe; which might, likewiſe, be eaſily overheard by thoſe without. His majeſty thought they had all left the little hall, and were gone to walk either in the great one, the courts, or the gardens: but ſome of them ſtaid at the door of the cloſet, excited by their curioſity to liſten; for the melancholy of this prince had been obſerved by every one. Thoſe, therefore, that ſtood at the door might hear almoſt every word that paſſed.

At firſt, he talked only of news relating to the emperor, ſome princes of Germany, the archdukes, and the preſident Richardot; after which, Henry confeſſing that there was ſomething elſe which lay nearer to his heart, began a long diſcourſe, during which I did hardly any thing elſe but liſten to him. As his majeſty believed that I, as well as the whole court, ſuppoſed the new quarrels between him and the queen, were occaſioned by the paſſion it was publicly ſaid he had conceived for Mademoiſelle de Montmorency, a few days ſince married to the prince of Condé, it was with this article he began, which had always given me infinite uneaſineſs.

When I firſt perceived this growing inclination in Henry, I foreſaw much greater inconveniencies from it than from any of his former attachments, on account of the birth and relations of the young lady, and I uſed my utmoſt endeavours to prevent the progreſs of it; endeavours which, though abſolutely fruitleſs, I renewed again, when the king propoſed to me his deſign of marrying her to M. the prince; for I had no reaſon to expect that Henry, upon this occaſion, would exert that generous ſelf-denial which ſome lovers have ſhewn themſelves capable of, when they have taken this method to impoſe upon themſelves the neceſſity of renouncing the object of their paſſion. Indeed it was the very contrary which I apprehended; and this belief offering nothing to my view but deep reſentment, rage, and exclamation, from the injured prince, the relations of the princeſs, and the queen, I therefore neglected nothing which I thought could diſſuade him from taking this reſolution. I entreated, I remonſtrated, I threw myſelf at the feet of Henry, I not only importuned; I fatigued, I perſecuted him; but all in vain: the fatal marriage was reſolved on †.

These circumſtances the king himſelf recalled to my remembrance, to convince me, he ſaid, that, altho' I had foretold pretty juſtly the effects which love and jealouſy might produce, yet I had not foreſeen all that the malignity of his enemies was capable of ſuggeſting to encreaſe thoſe fatal effects. This prince, part of whoſe character it was to pay an inviolable regard to truth, tho' he expoſed his own failings by it, would not pretend to deny that there was ſome foundation for the public opinion and diſcourſe. And, indeed, the paſſionate manner in which he talked of the high birth, the wit, and beauty of

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† It was celebrated at Chantilly without any pomp. The marchioneſs of Verneuil ſaid, "The king had made this match to ſink "the heart of the prince of Condé, and to raiſe his head." Mem. Hiſt. de Fr. Anno 1609.

Mademoiſelle de Montmorency, was ſufficient to betray his ſentiments; but it was not to thoſe mean and inſolent Italians, ſuch as Conchini, Vinti, Guidi, Joannini, that he was accountable for his actions, who juſtly deſerved to be puniſhed for daring to exaggerate what little faults there might be in his conduct, in order to enrage the queen, and force her to take violent reſolutions, which might give ſome colour for their pernicious deſigns. It was theſe deſigns which Henry was informed of from all parts, which filled him with apprehenſions and diſquiet, and hardly left him one moment of tranquility. He had mentioned ſomething of them in his letters to me, while he had yet only mere ſuſpicions of their tendency: but theſe ſuſpicions were changed into an abſolute certainty, by the letters that La-Varenne and Zamet had communicated to him; by what he had been told by the younger Zamet at his return from Italy and Spain; and, laſtly, by the informations he had received from Vaucelas, his ambaſſador at Madrid. We ſhall ſoon ſee that my brother-in-law was not a ſuſpected witneſs.

His inſtructions †, when he was ſent ambaſſador to Spain, were ſuch as rather ſhewed an intention to keep open the difference between France and the houſe of Auſtria, than to come to an accommodation with it. He was a witneſs of the intrigues that the queen's agents carried on at Madrid, which they did in a manner ſo public and unreſtrained, that he could not imagine it was unknown to the king, or even without his orders that they acted. Theſe proceedings at firſt ſurpriſed, and afterwards mortified him to the laſt degree; for, believing that the council of France had abſolutely changed its ſyſtem, without acquainting him with the new reſolutions they had taken, it muſt neceſſarily be, that his majeſty had withdrawn from him his uſual confidence, leaving him only the vain title of ambaſſador, while he entruſted to ſome other perſons his important ſecrets, and the management of his moſt eſſential affairs. Full of this thought he ſuppoſed, that, if the king ſeemed, in appearance, not to have changed his opinion of him, or altered his behaviour, it was through his reſpect and regard for me, that he might ſpare me the uneaſineſs of knowing he deſpiſed my brother-in-law, who would not have failed to expreſs his uneaſineſs to me, if he had not endeavoured to free him from ſuch an opinion.

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† The titles given in theſe inſtructions to the count de Vaucelas, are counſellor of ſtate, &c. camp-maſter of the regiment and companies of infantry of Piedmont. Vol. 8955. MSS. Royeaux.

Possessed with this belief, Vaucelas determined to inſinuate in two words to La Varenne, and thro' him to the king, that he had reaſon to fear he had loſt his majeſty's favour; but in his letter to his brother-in-law, which was much longer, he opened his heart freely, and entreated him to diſcover the cauſe of his diſgrace, and to repreſent to his majeſty, but with all poſſible reſpect, that it was unjuſt, and in ſome degree injurious to his ambaſſador, to employ one of a foreign prince preferably to him: it was the ambaſſador from the duke of Florence whom he meant; and, indeed, he treated about theſe affairs at Madrid, either without the knowledge, or with the conſent of the Spaniſh council, with ſo much authority, that it is not ſurpriſing Vaucelas ſhould be deceived. He, therefore, entreated his majeſty, by his brother-in-law, to reſtore him to his good opinion and confidence; and to believe, that no conſideration of friendſhip or alliance ſhould ever prevail upon him to diſcloſe the ſecrets of his maſter to me, which was what I had myſelf recommended to him to obſerve with inviolable fidelity.

This letter gave the king a clear knowledge of thoſe things, of which he had hitherto had but confuſed notions, and doubtful conjectures. His ſurpriſe was extreme; and, indeed, who could have imagined, that one half of the council and court ſhould dare openly to croſs deſigns, which the king had avowed, without being apprehenſive either of his reſentment, or the infamy which, on any other occaſion, muſt have attended ſuch proceedings? Certainly this was a circumſtance very uncommon in politics, and very different from all its maxims. They formed a party by methods, which, in any other caſe, tended to deſtroy it; to obtain their end, they pretended they had already obtained it; and ſecrecy was what they had leaſt concern about: this, however, is to be underſtood only of their behaviour and the appearances they gave to things, and not of their deſigns, and the real methods they took to carry them on; for, after the king had returned Vaucelas ſuch an anſwer as was proper to remove his ſuſpicions, he could not, with all his induſtry, diſcover the bottom of this myſtery, nor many particular circumſtances which he endeavoured to find out. All he knew was, that, by theſe intrigues, it was deſigned to blaſt his majeſty's deſigns againſt the houſe of Auſtria, by bringing him, either willingly or by force, into an union with Spain: that the Florentine ambaſſador correſponded with certain perſons of the queen's houſhold, whom he named, upon this ſubject; and with others of higher rank, whom his reſpect forbad him to mention: the reſt he was wholly ignorant of.

Part of theſe curious circumſtances which Henry now told me, I knew not before: this prince added, that he did not doubt but thoſe perſons, whom his ambaſſador would not name, were the queen and Villeroi. All the converſation they had with him tended only to this end; and the laſt advices he had received, relating to the double marriages, could have their riſe only from them, ſince the perſons employed in negociating theſe alliances had, it was ſaid, gone ſo far with the council of Madrid, as to declare that they had the means in their power of obliging the king to conſent to them, even with the clauſe that Spain, by giving the infanta to the Dauphin, ſhould reſerve to itſelf all the rights that this marriage might afterwards inveſt her with †. This it was that aſtoniſhed, and even terrified Henry. He might have been able to find a meaning in ſuch ſtrong and poſitive affirmations, if his deſigns againſt the houſe of Auſtria were as little known, and as undetermined, as they were three or four years ago; but that they ſhould talk in this manner in a court where they could not be ignorant that he had already taken a quite contrary reſolution, and that nothing would ever make him alter it while he lived; this it was that gave him, in ſpite of himſelf, the moſt dreadful apprehenſions.

It is certain that all Europe knew he was endeavouring to ally himſelf to the duke of Savoy, by marrying the Dauphin to the heireſs of Lorrain, that he might one day unite this ſtate with France; and that it was partly to ſupport this claim, that he attached to his intereſt, by ſo many acts of kindneſs and munificence, the German princes, who could aſſiſt him in this enterpriſe againſt all thoſe who might attempt to traverſe it. It was known likewiſe, that he intended to marry his ſecond ſon to Mademoiſelle de Montpenſier ‡, and that they were already contracted; to give his eldeſt daughter to the prince of Wales, whom, upon my report, he preferred to all the princes of Europe; and, laſtly, to bring about a marriage between his third ſon and the princeſs of Mantua, grand-daughter to the duke of Savoy, to give him a reaſon or pretence for a footing in Italy. I believe it will be eaſily granted, that his majeſty, by poſſeſſing Mantua and Montferrat, with a free entrance into theſe two little ſtates, and by being aſſured of the duke of Savoy, lately become poſſeſſor of the Milaneze, and having a firm dependence upon the Venetians, our inſeparable allies, nothing could have hindered him from giving law to all Italy, without, as this prince ſaid, incurring the guilt of detaining unjuſtly the poſſeſſions of another.

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† One would be ſurpriſed, after this, to find Siri, Mem. recond. Vol. I. p. 187, advance, that Henry IV. wiſhed for nothing ſo much as the marriage of the Dauphin with the infanta of Spain. Nothing further is neceſſary to prove this ſtranger took his information of the tranſactions of the council of France, at that time, from hearſay only. I alſo think him ſtill more blameable for that partiality he diſcovers, almoſt every where, againſt the perſon and politics of this prince.

‡ Mary of Bourbon, daughter, and ſole heireſs of Henry duke of Montpenſier, who died the year before.

HENRY took ſo much pleaſure in talking at length of his political ſchemes, that he forgot he was ſpeaking to a man who knew them all as well as himſelf: but he returned again to the Spaniſh cabal, and to his own apprehenſions, which their acting as if they were aſſured he had but a very ſhort time to live, gave riſe to. Whatever might be the foundation of this ſuſpicion, it was ſtrengthened and encreaſed, when he reflected, that innumerable prognoſtics were every where ſpread amongſt the people, which fixed his death in the fifty-eighth year of his age, a prediction which was given out to be a divine inſpiration, becauſe it was zealouſly ſupported by a certain nun, then in great veneration. Paſithea, for that was the name of this devotee, had been ſome time in France; and when ſhe left it, continued to correſpond, by letters, with the queen. And it was this nun whom the faction made uſe of, to perſuade that princeſs to be crowned with all the magnificence and all the ceremonies neceſſary to preſerve to her the authority which, they ſaid, ſhe would have occaſion for after the death of the king, which was not far off. They likewiſe talked publicly of bringing back this enthuſiaſt.

THIS deſign, theſe diſcourſes and preſages, were continually in Henry's thoughts, kept his fears and ſuſpicions always awake, and filled him with melancholy and diſmay. "I do not deſire this," ſaid he to me, ſpeaking of the coronation; and here I ſhall relate his own words, which are but too remarkable: "Neither, continued he, can I endure, that "this Paſithea ſhould return again to France. My "heart tells me, that ſome diſaſter will happen to "me, or that the government will be thrown into "diſorder, if my wife obſtinately inſiſts upon her "coronation, which, I am told, the Conchinis adviſe her to, and likewiſe continues her deſign of "bringing back Paſithea. It is certain we ſhall "quarrel on both theſe accounts; and if I diſcover "more concerning her deſigns in Spain, I ſhall "be provoked to the laſt degree againſt her." I know not whether this prince was miſtaken in his opinion of the queen his wife; but, I confeſs, I was ſtruck with the reflection he afterwards made, that this princeſs did not proceed to ſuch extremities with him on account of Mademoiſelle de Montmorency, and other ladies, whom he had been fond of, from any motive of jealouſy; but becauſe her wicked counſellors perſuaded her, that ſhe had occaſion for a pretence for being upon ill terms with the king, or, at leaſt, to appear ſo: and gave the public this excuſe for want of a better: that myſelf, and every one elſe, had attributed to jealouſy what was, in reality, the effect of a moſt refined malice. I make here very ſhocking diſcoveries, if it be true, that the queen's confidants made uſe of this damnable artifice, to conceal and carry on deſigns too black and horrible to name.

But to convince me that I had no reaſon to doubt it, Henry reminded me, that upon ſo ſlight a foundation as that of ſpeaking oftener than uſual to the ducheſs of Nevers, and ſeeming pleaſed with her converſation, that lady was ranked among the number of his miſtreſſes the preceding year, and Mademoiſelle de Montmorency in this, that the opinion of the court and the public, concerning his eſtrangement from the queen, might be ſtill kept up, which it was neceſſary to do, at any price whatever:

ever: and from thence he concluded, that all his endeavours to put a ſtop to theſe reports would be fruitleſs; and that, if he ſhould even reſolve to ſee the princeſs of Condé no more, yet that would not ſilence the malicious reports of people who had ſuch ſtrong reaſons for preventing all accommodation between him and his wife. He declared, that he would never attempt to obtain any favours of the princeſs of Condé, to the prejudice of her honour; that, if he could not ſubdue his paſſion, he would, at leaſt, reſtrain its effects, and reſpect the ſacred tye, which he had only formed to impoſe ſilence on his own wiſhes. He ſaid this † with great ſeeming ſincerity, and I ſhould abſolutely have relied upon this aſſurance, if I had not known how eaſy it was for a heart, tender and paſſionate as his, to be deceived by itſelf.

The king continued ſtill to talk of the queen's counſellors, and, among others, of Conchini and his wife. He told me ſeveral circumſtances concerning theſe foreigners, after which I could no longer look upon them but as monſters: he ſaid, that they hindred the queen from eating of any thing that he ſent her, and perſuaded her to make a kitchen of their apartment. But why did his majeſty inveigh thus alternately againſt theſe Italians and the queen, and do no more? I agreed with him, that the former deſerved the ſevereſt puniſhments that could be inflicted; and that it was, indeed, very ſurpriſing, that this princeſs ſhould make friends and confidants only of thoſe perſons, who, at the time of the Third Party, had given the moſt violent counſels againſt his life; or with others who were now not leſs his enemies †. But what was I able to do for his deliverance, when he would not aſſiſt my endeavours? Would any one imagine that this long diſcourſe, which I am perſuaded every reader muſt feel himſelf intereſted in, ſhould end only in repeated entreaties to be attentive to the arts of the Spaniards, and to undertake again to perſuade the queen that ſhe ought to ſacrifice the Conchinis, and all the reſt who diſturbed their peace, to the aſſurance he gave her by me, that, if ſhe required it, he would never viſit any woman more, married or unmarried? " For it is not juſt," ſaid this too good and too gentle prince, " that I ſhould deprive my-

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† The marſhal de Baſſompierre, to whom mademoiſelle de Montmorency was offered in marriage, amongſt other diſcourſes on this ſubject, relates the following from Henry IV. to him: "He anſwered me, with a deep ſigh, Baſſompierre, I will ſpeak to thee "as a friend. I am not only in love, but madly, deſperately, in "love with mademoiſelle de Montmorency. If thou ſhouldſt marry "her, I ſhould hate thee: ſhould ſhe love me, thou wouldſt hate "me. It will be beſt to prevent the poſſibility of this becoming "the cauſe of a breach of our friendſhip; for I love thee with "great affection, and by inclination. I am reſolved to marry her "to my nephew, the prince of Condé, and to have her in my family: ſhe ſhall be the comfort and entertainment of my old age, "which is coming on. I will give my nephew, who loves hunting "a thouſand times better than the ladies, a hundred thouſand livres "a year to amuſe himſelf with. I ſhall deſire no other favour of "her but her affection, without pretending to any thing further." Vol. I. p. 229. But in the end, this paſſion, as M. de Sully had foreſeen, hurried Henry far beyond the bounds he had preſcribed himſelf,

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† Queen Mary de Medicis did, on every occaſion, give ſo many convincing proofs of a real affection for her huſband, that thoſe who have juſtified and praiſed all her actions, as the author of l'Hiſtoire de la Mere & du Fils, have not even thought it neceſſary to refute any of the charges againſt her in Sully's Memoirs: and this miniſter himſelf, on the cloſeſt obſervation, never once imputes, or takes notice of the king's imputing any thing to her, but her countenancing, by too great a confidence and credulity, the bad deſigns of ſome of her court; deſigns in which thoſe perſons took care never to engage this princeſs, but where they could do it by exciting a jealouſy in her, which it was natural in her to conceive againſt her huſband's miſtreſſes. This is the only manner of judging of the behaviour of the king and queen, that enables one to find the key to many of their words and actions, which, without that aſſiſtance, would appear totally contradictory; ſince, at the ſame time, in the ſame perſons, they denote confidence and diffidence, eſteem and indifference, affection and coldneſs. The hiſtorian I am quoting gives many inſtances, both good and bad, of this: he repreſents Henry alternately complaining of and praiſing the queen; ſometimes inclinable to part from her entirely, or at leaſt, to keep her at a diſtance from him; at other times thinking no one of his council, but her, capable of the adminiſtration of affairs in his abſence, or to ſupport the weight of a regency. Hiſt. de la Mere & du Fils, Vol. I. paſſ.

" ſelf of all my pleaſures to ſatisfy her, unleſs ſhe " will do the ſame for me; or that I ſhould conſent to all her deſires, while ſhe continues to oppoſe all mine."

He permitted me to communicate to Sillery what I thought proper of this converſation; but not to Villeroi. "I will go to dinner," ſaid he, for, indeed, it was very late, "and leave you at liberty "to reflect on all I have ſaid to you. I roſe this "morning by break of day; for I did not ſleep all "night, my mind was ſo much diſturbed with theſe "thoughts; nor ſhould I have had better reſt this "night than the preceding, if I had not diſcloſed "them all to you." His majeſty then got into my coach, which I had ordered to be made ready for him, ſaying to me in the preſence of a great number of perſons who were in the court, "Farewel, "my friend, I love you moſt affectionately; con"tinue to ſerve me always thus, and remember all "the converſations we have had together; for you "are as dear to me as you can, or ought to de"ſire."

I believe I have formerly juſtified, by the moſt ſolid reaſons, my perſeverance in the opinion that all theſe plots, half foreign, half domeſtic, againſt his majeſty's life, were neither real, nor greatly to be feared. I confeſs, however, that there were ſome moments wherein the force of my attachment to my prince would not permit me to hear, with indifference, all that was reported on this ſubject; nor could all my firmneſs hinder me from being terrified at what I knew to be a mere phantom. My mind was in this ſtate all the time that Henry continued ſpeaking to me, and after he had left me. It was pretty remarkable, that, during the whole time Henry ſtaid with me, I liſtened to him with a profound ſilence; not uttering one word in anſwer to what he ſaid. When I ſat down to dinner, the agitation of my heart, and the dark ſuſpenſe which clouded my mind, threw me into a dejection and faintneſs, which gave me a diſguſt to every thing that was placed before me. Certainly there was no neceſſity for Henry's deſiring me to make reflections on what he had ſaid to me: I gave myſelf up entirely to them. I carried my views as far as I was able, that I might foreſee every poſſible danger, and trace the remoteſt cauſe for ſuſpicion.

Yet, when this firſt tumult of my thoughts ſubſided, and more calm and ſettled conſiderations had taken place of thoſe confuſed ideas that perplexed my mind, I was obliged to conclude, as I had always done, that it was Henry's apprehenſions which had given riſe to mine, and that his had no certain foundation. The council of Madrid, ſeeing that the king began to advance in years, and had already felt the attacks of ſome dangerous diſtempers, were willing to begin, in time, to make the queen and the French council reliſh a piece of policy, to which they might owe their ſecurity. The Spaniards found perſons among the French who were ſtrongly inclined to enter into their meaſures, and they made uſe of them to carry them on, that they might ſpare themſelves the ſhame of making demands which were likely to be refuſed. If this was really the caſe, the Spaniſh council might reaſonably be ſuppoſed to feign the contrary for a long time, and deſtroy or abate the ardour of the allies of France, deceived by this appearance. There was nothing in this conjecture which did not agree with the character of the Spaniſh nation, eſtabliſhed by an infinite number of the like proceedings. When Philip II. urged monſieur the duke of Alençon to engage in the enterpriſe againſt Antwerp, an enterpriſe which ruined his affairs and blaſted his reputation, this was all that he ſecretly promiſed himſelf by it, while, in appearance, he ſeemed to look upon it as a neceſſary ſtroke, to ſecure to that prince the ſovereignty of the Low-Countries, which was the bait he threw out for him. But is this a ſufficient foundation for ſaying, that Spain was endeavouring to become miſtreſs of the king's life? How many motives rendered the perſon and intereſts of that prince dear to the French nation, and even to thoſe very courtiers whom, as it ſhould ſeem, the Spaniards had engaged in their party? But to what exceſſes may not the human heart be carried when impelled by a violent paſſion? I am ſeized with horror at the very idea of actions, which theſe apprehenſions muſt ſuppoſe perſons to be guilty of, whoſe birth, education, and ſentiments reſtrain them from atrocious crimes, and black attempts, although they leave them capable of ſome tranſient weakneſſes. Ought I to account for my thinking and ſpeaking thus, from the reſpect I owe to certain perſons, the delicacy of my ſentiments, or merely from the deteſtation I feel for wickedneſs, and the rectitude of my own heart? However that may be, it is certain, that, after all theſe reflections, I found my mind in the ſame calm ſituation it was before the king ſpoke to me; and if that gentleneſs of diſpoſition, which he was too well known to poſſeſs, gave me, from time to time, reaſon to be apprehenſive, that licentiouſneſs would gain ground through a hope of paſſing unpuniſhed, yet I did not fear any of thoſe dreadful blows * which bring with them a ſudden conſternation.

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* I am afraid M. de Sully paid too little regard to reports and ſuſpicions of ſo great moment as thoſe here in queſtion. "There "were, at that time," ſays the author of the Memoirs for the Hiſtory of France, "ſo many reports of conſpiracies againſt the king, "that this was commonly believed at Paris to be the principal rea- "ſon of the long reſidence Don Pedro de Toledo made there, which "made his departure to be earneſtly wiſhed for." Henry's fears, therefore, were not without foundation: and M. de Sully on this, as on many other occaſions, was, unhappily for this prince, too much attached to his own opinions. It would anſwer no end to conceal, that a little vanity and obſtinacy were the defects in a character, in other reſpects, to be envied on a thouſand accounts.

It is manifeſt, from reading the Memoirs of that time, that the ſmall number of Henry IV's ſervants, who had an unfeigned affec-

With regard to the other part of his majeſty's diſcourſe, it would have been more proper for this prince to have put an end, at once, to all reproaches from the queen, by beginning immediately to diſengage himſelf from thoſe attachments, which were but little ſuitable to his years; or, at leaſt, in theſe ſallies, to preſerve his reaſon ſo far unclouded, as to avoid any attachment which might raiſe an amour into an affair of policy. Thoſe gallantries, which Henry had been engaged in, were always deſtructive either to his glory or his intereſt, and certainly to his quiet. However, in the princeſs of Condé love laid the moſt dangerous ſnare for him it had ever done: all the conſequences were juſtly and greatly to be feared.

From theſe reflections it may be conceived what anſwer I made to the king, when, according to his orders, I waited on him five or ſix days afterwards: he had left his chamber, and was gone through the great gallery to walk in the Tuillieres.

tion for him, did not make uſe of all the precautions they might, to guard againſt the unfortunate accident that happened to him. Perhaps no ſolid anſwer can be given to thoſe who may call this ſentiment a judgment after the fact: and it muſt alſo be allowed, that if all the dark and ſecret plots, mentioned in an infinite number of places in theſe Memoirs, tho' nothing clear and poſitive touching them was ever diſcovered, were real, as the event ſeems to have proved, they could not fail of producing their effect, from the averſion this prince was known to have to ſeverity and revenge. Thoſe who from ſuch examples draw arguments to turn the minds of ſovereigns to deſpotiſm and cruelty, merit the utmoſt degree of hatred from mankind.

The manner in which the duke of Sully here lays open the bottom of his thoughts and opinions of thoſe plots, abſolutely deſtroys a doubt ſome, who ſeriouſly conſidered the tranſactions of thoſe times, have made, viz. That the duke was perfectly informed of whatever was intended againſt the perſon of Henry IV. but that having uſed his utmoſt endeavours to prevail on that prince to exert his authority to fruſtrate ſuch deſigns, and finding that all the advice he had given Henry thereon, through his weakneſs, was always rejected, he was inwardly convinced this unhappy king could not avoid his cruel deſtiny: therefore, he determined not to encreaſe his apprehenſions without cauſe; but only to prevail on him, as ſoon as poſſible, to leave a city where he was expoſed to ſuch imminent dangers.

We walked together in the firſt gallery, for more than an hour. I removed his apprehenſions, and reſtored him to his former tranquillity. He took a reſolution to redouble his efforts to baniſh, if poſſible, from his council and court, all this Spaniſh policy; and promiſed to educate his children, and the young prince, who was heir to his crown, in his own maxims; to bind the proteſtants to their king and their country, by the cloſeſt ties; and endeavour, with equal ſolicitude, to baniſh all foreigners from any participation in affairs of ſtate; theſe were, in his opinion, the two principal maxims to be purſued, and the moſt likely to ſecure the public tranquillity againſt the riſe of all domeſtic troubles.

THE natural inference from all this was, that Henry ſhould make immediate preparations for the execution of his great deſigns; ſince to defer them to an impotent old age, would be to hazard their ſucceſs: and accordingly, from this moment, his application to every thing which might contribute to them, increaſed every day. He now came oftener than ever to the Arſenal, and I was almoſt every morning and evening with him at the Louvre, where my coach was allowed to drive into the court. The king granted this privilege, which only two other dukes enjoyed beſides myſelf, to a conſideration of my indiſpoſition, which rendered walking on the ſtones very troubleſome to me: he having almoſt always occaſion for me to be with him, and, I believe, his friendſhip for me was another motive equally ſtrong.

HE went on to make me draw up views and memorials, to form a complete cabinet of policy, and of the management of the finances; and that nothing might be wanting to the completion of his ſcheme, which he now laid fully before me, he ordered that I ſhould have a great deſk or cabinet, contrived full of drawers and holes, each with a lock and key, and all lined with crimſon ſattin, in ſuch number as to contain,

tain, in a regular diſpoſition, all the pieces that were to be there depoſited. The labour of this deſign was almoſt immenſe, though it does not appear ſuch at the firſt glance.

To give a notion of it without repetition, the reader muſt image to himſelf all that has any relation, either near or diſtant, to the revenue, to war, to the artillery, to naval power, to commerce, to policy, to money, to mines; in ſhort, to all parts of the government, either within the kingdom or without it, whether eccleſiaſtical or civil, whether exterior or domeſtic. Every one of theſe parts had its diſtinct allotment in this cabinet of ſtate, which was to be ſet in the great cloſet of books in the Louvre, furniſhed with all poſſible conveniencies, that all the pieces under each of theſe heads, how numerous ſoever they might be, ſhould appear at a ſingle glance. On the ſide appointed for the finances, was a collection of different regulations, memorials of operations, accounts of changes made or to be made, of ſums to be received and paid: a quantity, almoſt innumerable, of views, memoirs, of abſtracts and ſummaries, more or leſs compendious. All this is more eaſily imagined than repreſented. All the letters of any conſequence, which his majeſty had written to me, were there filed and numbered, with an index pointing out the contents of each.

As to military matters, beſides the accounts, liſts, and memoirs, which were to ſhew the preſent ſtate of the forces, there were all the regulations and papers of ſtate, books treating of the arrangement of armies, plans, charts, geographical and hydrographical, both of France and of different parts of the world. Theſe ſame charts, upon a larger ſcale, mixed with different pieces of painting, were to be placed in the great gallery. Upon this his majeſty and I conceived a thought of appointing a large room, with its firſt range to make a magazine of models, of whatever is moſt curious in machinery, relating to war, arts, trades, and all ſorts of exerciſes, noble, liberal, and mechanical; that all thoſe, who aſpired to perfection, might improve themſelves without trouble in this ſilent ſchool, the lower apartment was to hold the heavy pieces of workmanſhip, and the higher was to contain the lighter. An exact inventory of both was to be one of the pieces of the great cabinet †.

Among the pieces relating to the eccleſiaſtical government, the moſt curious were a liſt of all the benefices of the kingdom, with the qualifications which they required; and a view of all the eccleſiaſtical orders, ſecular and regular, from the higheſt prelate to the loweſt clergyman, with the diſtinction of natives and foreigners of both religions. This work was to be imitated in another relating to temporal government, in which the king was to ſee, to a ſingle man, the number of gentlemen throughout the kingdom, divided into claſſes, and ſpecified according to differences of title and eſtate. In this ſcheme the king had the more pleaſure, as he had, for a long time, formed the plan for a new order of knighthood, with an academy and hoſpital, only for the nobility; which inſtitution, however glorious and uſeful, would have been no expence either to the people or the revenue ‡. He had propoſed, at the ſame time, and with the ſame advantages, to eſtabliſh a camp, or ſtanding body of ſix thouſand foot, a thouſand horſe, with ſix pieces of artillery completely fitted out: and, to keep the ſame propor-

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† The death of Henry IV. put a total ſtop to the execution of all theſe deſigns, which deſerve all the praiſe that can be given them. It is alſo apparent, that however defective this ſtate-muſeum remained, it has, nevertheleſs, given birth to many noble and uſeful eſtabliſhments, which have done honour to ſucceeding miniſters. This book will furniſh many other ſubjects for this reflection. See what has been ſaid of this in the preface.

‡ This deſign of the duke of Sully admits of a further extenſion. It has long been a juſt cauſe of complaint, that the public method of educating youth in the colleges of France, and in every part of Europe, ſtill retains the barbarity of the moſt uncultivated times: the manner in which children are indiſcriminately brought up, ſeems intended to qualify them only for the prieſthood and the profeſſion of theology. Latin and Greek, a ſyſtem of rhetoric, fit only to deprave the taſte and pervert the mind: a courſe of philoſophy, which requires the application of two whole years to learn things ſo dry, tedious, and futile, that as much time would be neceſſary to drive them out of the mind, as were loſt in acquiring them, did not the manner and language, in

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which they are taught, themſelves produce that effect: a courſe of law, that follows, of ſtill greater length, and in which, with the ſame inconveniencies, the ground of the French law is what is leaſt taught. We ſee here in what particulars this method of education conſiſts; the unhappy conſequences of which are, that at a time when reading a number of good books, upon all ſubjects, ought to form a taſte for the arts and ſciences, and teach the principles of them, young men are not only held from making a progreſs, but ſent into the world, fraught with prejudices againſt all kind of literature, and full of diſguſt to all books, from having been tediouſly confined to ſo ſmall a number; a diſguſt which, in many inſtances, is never removed, or removed only ſo as to admit of reading, for mere amuſement, at an age in which the mind has abated of that vigour without which the matureſt judgment is only as an uſeleſs talent.

Would it, therefore, be impoſſible to ſuppreſs, at leaſt, one half of this prodigious number of Latin colleges, and convert the reſt into ſuch as are more adapted to the different profeſſions for which youth are intended? to dedicate the firſt years of infancy to the learning the principal duties of religion and virtue? to read, write, and account well? to remove children from hence to other colleges, where, along with a ſlight acquaintance with the learned languages, for thoſe who are not intended to make any great uſe of them, they ſhould be taught to ſpeak and write well in our own language, to familiariſe themſelves to its different ſtyles, the epiſtolary in particular; and to underſtand the languages of, at the leaſt, ſome of her neighbouring nations, with whom we have the moſt concern? to let theſe ſchools be ſucceeded by others, where the elements of the moſt neceſſary parts of mathematics, geography, and hiſtory, ſhould be taught? where tactics, politics, laws, and commerce, laid down in a clear and conciſe method, ſhould be made uſe of by the maſters, to diſcover the bent of their pupils genius? and by the pupils to determine them in the choice of ſuch ſtudies as they are moſt diſpoſed and attracted to by nature?

This ſhort view of the ſubject can ſcarcely be deemed more than a very rough ſketch of a better project. It, nevertheleſs, ſeems to me ſufficient to point out the road which ſhould be taken, to inſpire youth with a zeal for true glory, labour, and application, to prevent their falling into idleneſs and debauchery; and, in ſhort, to ſupply the ſtate with the moſt excellent ſubjects of every kind. We, every day, ſee inſtances, that the knowledge of this truth determines many parents to prefer a private and domeſtic education for their children to the public one of the colleges. One cannot find fault with them for this, notwithſtanding the advantages of the one over thoſe of the other are ſo conſpicuous. This conſideration makes it only more to be regretted, that public education has not yet been carried to that perfection, amongſt us, every one perceives it is capable of, and ought to be.

tion in the naval force, twelve ſhips, and as many galleys, were always to be kept ready for a voyage.

As ſchemes of improvement and reformation, in every reſpect, had one of the chief places in this cabinet, beſides the general plan by which Henry had contrived to change the face of all Europe, and which was laid out and particulariſed in the cleareſt and moſt extenſive manner, there were diſtinct projects upon all ſorts of ſubjects; in thoſe, for inſtance, that related to war, methods were laid down for preſerving an exact diſcipline, not only in time of actual war, but likewiſe in peace, by which the perſons of the trader, manufacturer, ſhepherd, huſbandman, would have been preſerved inviolable from the ſoldiers. Theſe four profeſſions, by which the ſtate may be truly ſaid to be ſupported, would have been completely ſecured from all outrages of the nobility by other regulations there laid down, with relation to the domeſtic adminiſtration of government. The diſtinction of conditions, and the extent of the rights of each, was ſo exactly laid down, that none of them would have been able, for the future, either to break from their ſubordination, or make an ill uſe of their power. The deſign of the papers, relating to the clergy, was to engage all the eccleſiaſtics to make ſuch uſe as the canons require of revenues which, properly ſpeaking, are not their own; to forbid them to join together livings of the yearly value of ſix hundred livres, or to have any one that produced more than ten thouſand livres; upon the whole, to acquit themſelves worthily of their employments, and to conſider it as their firſt duty to ſet a good example.

I WILL not enter into more particulars, having had occaſion to treat of theſe ſubjects in different parts of theſe Memoirs †. I ſhall likewiſe refer the reader to all that he has ſeen, or ſhall ſee, in this book, upon the head of morality, and principles of juſt and wiſe governments, which had alſo their place in that collection. I cut off thus an account which I could have drawn to great length, becauſe how much ſoever I might have diffuſed it, I could never have ſhewn the whole; at leaſt not without tediouſneſs and trouble, which would have been the greater as the account would have contained nothing abſolutely new. Among other memorials relating to the finances, there was one upon the methods of raiſing money, which ought to be diſtinguiſhed from the other pieces that are paſſed over without mention. By this ſcheme a hundred millions might be raiſed in three or four years. The only caution which I recommended, was not to make uſe of it without neceſſity; and to begin by the moſt eaſy and gentle, of the different ways there mentioned. They were laid down in the order which I ſhall here give them, though this is only a mere epitome of the plan †.

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† This kind of ſilent ſchool for the finances, war, commerce, &c. appears to me ſo happily contrived, that, in reality, I ſee no bounds to the extenſion of the utility of it. What is the reaſon thoſe, who are

A NEW regulation was to be made with regard to the preſidents of ports and havens, the officers of the

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employed in the adminiſtration of the different affairs of the government, are continually falling into ſo many miſtakes? Becauſe there being no poſitive rules, no written principles, they can conſult, or whence they can either draw the information they ought to have, or correct their own ideas; they generally go on as chance conducts them, and often wander from the proper road. From hence, in every reſpect, it happens, we arrive ſo late at the intended point, and that very often we miſs it entirely. No body or community can ſubſiſt for two or three ages only, without the help of ſome fundamental rules of conduct, which can, on every emergency, be reſorted to by thoſe who have the direction of it. How then can the ſtate, which comprehends all leſſer communities, be conducted without them? How otherways can thoſe, who ſucceed in poſts and employments, form any judgment, whether different circumſtances require any alteration in the principles by which their predeceſſors were guided? For want of ſuch rules, ſuch permanent laws, many uſeful projects, which could not be carried into execution at the time of their invention, have periſhed with their inventors; and many bad ones, adopted by raſhneſs and ignorance, have been perpetuated.

† There is another ſtate of this account in Sully's Memoirs, Vol. IV. p. 99. I have reduced both theſe into one.

Crown Lands and Traites Forains, the tolls of rivers, and the cuſtoms paid at their mouths; with a new valuation of theſe claims, and a new creation of officers for the collection. Another regulation reſpected the maſters that bought and ſold cattle, wine, and other liquors, fiſh, freſh and ſalt, wood, hay, and other proviſions. Another related to the poſts, in which were comprehended the poſt-maſters and comptrollers, the maſters of the king's ſtables, the couriers, bankers, and their commiſſioners, the ſtage-coaches ‡, the foot and horſe meſſengers, and all carriages by land and water. When I read this article to the king, he ſaid, "I commend you to "La-Varenne, and all the people of the ſtable: I "will ſend them all to you." Another ſcheme related to the markers of leather, the gaugers, the keepers of coffee-houſes, the retailers, commiſſaries, aſſeſſors, and collectors, the keepers of lodgings to lett, and many others. "Right, ſays Henry, you "muſt do all this for us; for not a day paſſes but I "am teized to make a grant of ſome or other of "theſe." Another was upon the fourth and eighth aids, the entry and exportation of goods, whether from city to city, or from province to province; a creation of new officers for the magazines of ſalt, with an augmentation of taxes paid by them and by retailers; an augmentation of a crown upon every minot of ſalt, and other regulations reſpecting both the ſalt-works, and the ſale of the ſalt which is got from them. "This, ſays Henry, I ſhould like well; "but you muſt begin with your own government, "or elſe we ſhall have great clamour." The parties caſuelles, and the droit annuel ||. The ſecre-

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‡ Poſt horſes and ſtage-coaches were firſt ſet up in the reign of Henry IV.

|| This is the firſt and only time the *droit annuel* is mentioned in theſe Memoirs. This is the more ſurpriſing, becauſe this law, by which offices of juſtice, made ſaleable in the reign of Francis I. are made hereditary, was eſtabliſhed under Henry IV. and therefore M. Sully was probably the principal author of it; and becauſe when the

taries of the king were to be augmented to ſixteen. A tax was to be raiſed upon ſalt, in the form of the

edict for its eſtabliſhment was made, nothing was heard but murmurs and complaints: that the purchaſe of thoſe offices being, by means of this new law, raiſed to an exorbitant price, the nobility and people of merit would be totally excluded from them, and they could, for the future, fall to the ſhare only of monied men; whereby the vexations, in the adminiſtring juſtice, would be encreaſed, inſtead of being diminiſhed.

Cardinal Richelieu, convinced by the good reaſons M. de Sully had for acting thus, and which he had from that miniſter's own mouth, employs the firſt ſection of the chapter of his Political Teſtament, part I. to prove that neither the ſale or inheritance of offices of juſtice ought to be aboliſhed in this kingdom. “ The late king, ſays “ he, by the advice of a very good council, in the time of a profound “ peace, and in a reign free from want, added the eſtabliſhment of “ the right of inheriting of offices of juſtice to the right of ſelling “ them. It is not to be preſumed he would have taken this ſtep, “ without a mature conſideration, and without fore-ſeeing, as far as “ human prudence is able, the conſequences and effects of it. Nothing contributed ſo much to enable the duke of Guiſe to render “ himſelf powerful in the league, againſt the king and ſtate, as the “ great number of officers he had, by his intereſt, brought into the “ principal poſts of the kingdom. I have been told, by the duke of “ Sully, that this conſideration was one of the chief motives with the “ king for eſtabliſhing the *droit annuel*, &c.”

After this, the cardinal de Richelieu maintains, that it is better thoſe offices ſhould be bought, than given to poor and indigent people, or be carried off by ambition or intereſt. “ Inſtead, ſays he, of opening the “ door to virtue, it would be opened to cabals and factions, and the “ great offices wou'd be filled with officers of low extraction, often “ better ſtocked with Latin than riches---Low birth ſeldom produces “ in men the qualifications neceſſary to form a great magiſtrate---- “ Wealth is a great ornament to dignities, and they are ſo much “ heightened by exterior luſtre, that one may boldly ſay, That of two “ perſons of equal merit, the preference ought to be given to him who “ is in the moſt affluent circumſtances: beſides, the fear of loſing “ all he is worth, will be no ſmall reſtraint againſt miſbehaviour to an “ officer who has engaged the greateſt part of his eſtate in the purchaſe “ of his office.----“ If,” ſays he further, “ offices could be obtained without money, commerce would be abandoned by many, who, “ dazzled with the ſplendor of dignities, would rather puſh themſelves into offices at the expence of being ruined, than acquire “ wealth for their families by employing themſelves in commerce.”

He proves the particular uſefulneſs of the *droit annuel*, from the conſideration, that without it, all the old officers would reſign their offices, “ When experience, and the ripeneſs of age, had made them “ moſt capable of ſerving the public.” He ought, I think, to have added this farther reaſon, That a young man who is intended for the enjoyment of one of thoſe poſts, will receive from his parents an edutaille, to make a fund appointed for the wages of the different officers, ſovereign and ſubaltern, particularly of the courts of juſtice: another reſpected the offices of lieutenants, comptrollers, and treaſurers, as well general as provincial, to be dignified with new titles, and ſet over the artillery, bridges, and cauſeways: another ſcheme reſpected the employments of bailiwicks, elections, and magazines of ſalt, to encreaſe them by new grants of wages and privileges, out of the money raiſed upon the taille, even to five ſous in the livre. To eſtabliſh new elections in Guyenne, Languedoc, Brittany, and Burgundy: the king foreſaw that, in theſe provinces, there would be much murmuring. New treaſurers were to be created in the offices of the finances, two at Sens and at Cahors, ſix in Brittany, and three

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cation ſuitable to that ſtation of life they know he is deſigned to fill. The advice wherewith our author finiſhes this article, is to fix the value of theſe offices at a moderate price, "Which would not exceed, " ſays he, the half of what, from the extravagant humour of the peo- " ple, is now given for them." He does juſtice to Henry IV. on this head: " The late king, ſays he, foreſeeing this evil, had inſerted in " the edict he made on this ſubject, clauſes able to prevent it; not only " excepting from the *droit annuel* the offices of the chief-preſidents, " and the ſolicitors and attorneys-general; but moreover reſerving to " himſelf the power to diſpoſe of thoſe offices which are ſubject to it, " when vacant, on paying previouſly to the heirs of the poſſeſſors of " them the price at which they ſhould be valued. The miſchiefs " which the *droit annuel* at preſent occaſions, do not proceed ſo much " from any faults in the nature of it, as from the reſtrictions this " great prince had ſubjected it to, having been imprudently taken " off. If the edict had continued in the purity of its original inſtitu- " tion, the value of offices would never have riſen to that exceſſive " height it now is at. It is, therefore, only neceſſary to reduce the " edict for the *droit annuel*, to the bounds of its firſt form."

Theſe words fully juſtify the duke of Sully againſt all the imputations that have been caſt on him, on account of the counſel he gave Henry IV. touching the famous edict of the *droit annuel*. By virtue of this edict, the officers of juſtice were compelled to pay the ſixtieth part of the produce of their offices, which continued to be done every ninth year till 1709, when they were obliged to buy off this charge. See le Journal de L'Etoile, anno 1605, when this edict was made, De Thou, Mezerai, &c. The exceſſive number of the officers of juſtice, &c. is the principal and the true cauſe of all the other miſchiefs men of ſenſe find to ariſe from this edict.

elſewhere. Henry ſaid, that the number of theſe harpies ſhould be rather leſſened than encreaſed.

I PROPOSED to create, in times of neceſſity, ſtill a much greater number of offices among the treaſurers, payers of rents and wages, receivers, and other officers of the tailles, ſecretaries, and under-officers of the greater and little chancery, as well as to make new grants to the offices already in being: to appoint two principal commiſſioners over all the offices in the revenues. To particularize all this would take up too much room. The virtue of the king repreſenting to him, what was yet a mere project, as already put in execution, made him cry out againſt ſuch a number of regulations, with which I agreed with him, that the people were not to be charged, but in caſe of great neceſſity.

To make an end, it was propoſed, that ſovereign courts ſhould be erected in different cities, ſuch as a parliament, chamber of accounts, and court of aids, at Lyons and Poitiers, ſuppreſſing the court of aids at Montferrand. As it was propoſed that the aids ſhould be extended to Brittany, a court of aids was to be created there, another at Bourdeaux, with a chamber of accounts, a third in Burgundy, and a fourth in Provence. At this the king ſhook his head, and ſaid not a word. I ſhall not repeat here what I have already ſaid in many parts of theſe Memoirs. The averſion which I have ſhewn, with regard to whatever is ſtiled luxury, will make it thought, that all mad and ſuperfluous expences were heavily taxed, and ſo indeed they were; and I ſhall honeſtly declare, that if my credit had been ſufficient, beſides cutting off a great part of thoſe expences, which are inconſiſtent with the preſſing neceſſities of the ſtate, I ſhould have ſuppreſſed, likewiſe, coaches and other inventions of luxury, except in ſuch conditions of life as ſhould have gratified their vanity at a high price.

IF it is neceſſary to lay this check upon luxury, of which the contagion has ſeized inſenſibly on all parts of the community, it is yet of more importance to ſtop its fatal conſequences in thoſe to whom it is not merely an occaſion of negligence and ſoftneſs, but a cauſe of corruption and ruin of families. Againſt this, proviſion was made by another ſcheme, placed likewiſe among the pieces of the cabinet of ſtate; nor was it one of the leaſt misfortunes occaſioned by the untimely death of the king, that it buried in the grave with him ſo many uſeful deſigns at the moment of their birth.

ACCORDING to another regulation, an edict would have paſſed to oblige the advocates and attornies-general of the parliament to proſecute and puniſh, in an exemplary manner, all thoſe, who, by the example of their diſſoluteneſs and prodigality, injured the public, themſelves, or other people; and to this they were bound, under penalty of anſwering themſelves, for all the diſorders which their negligence or connivance might produce. The way by which this was to be put in their power, without rendering their offices burthenſome beyond meaſure, was to join with them, in every juriſdiction, three perſons publicly appointed under the title of cenſors or reformers, choſen from three years to three years in a public aſſembly, and authoriſed by their office, to which was joined every kind of exemption, not only to lay before the judges informations againſt all fathers, or children of families guilty of diſhonourable diſſoluteneſs, and of ſuperfluous expences, to a degree beyond their fortune; but likewiſe to force the judges themſelves to puniſh theſe exceſſes in the manner preſcribed: or, on failure, to call them to an account, as partners of the crime. Every proſecution was to be preceded by two warnings; but, at the third, an action was iſſued out, by which the perſon accuſed was put under tutorage, and ſaw the management of his affairs conſigned to other hands, who were to leave him only two-thirds of his revenue, and apply the other part to the payment of his debts, and for the repairs of his eſtate: and this was to laſt till evident tokens were given of a real reformation, and a return to a more reaſonable way of thinking and acting. From this law no condition was excepted; and it is likely that no member of the community would have eſcaped this judicature, becauſe it was itſelf anſwerable to a higher tribunal, and even the officers were fixed down to their duty by the dread of puniſhment equivalent to diſgrace.

It would have been decreed, at the ſame time, to deſtroy this miſchief in its original; that no perſon, of whatever quality or condition, ſhould be allowed to borrow a ſum, which, compared with his eſtate, could be deemed conſiderable; and that no other ſhould lend it him, on pain of loſing it, unleſs it was, at the ſame time, declared in a contract or obligation, to what uſe the money ſo borrowed ſhould be employed; what debts the borrower already had; to what perſons, upon what ſecurity, and what revenue was ſtill left him; as well to ſecure the debt as to maintain his family. With the ſame intention every father of a family, and every perſon who acted in the character of a father, were forbidden to give to one of their children, at ſettling them in the world, a larger fortune than juſtice allowed, upon a due conſideration of their preſent means, and of the number of their children born or likely to be born, excepting only, that the authority of a father was ſecured, by allowing him to puniſh a vicious or unnatural ſon: But even in this caſe the offence was to be clearly proved, and this arbitrary diſpoſition was to extend only to moveable goods, or their own acquiſition †.

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† Theſe ſchemes of reformation bear ſuch ſtrong marks of the duke of Sully's genius and character, that it is unneceſſary for him to name himſelf as the author of them. Without derogating from the merit of the gravity and auſterity of his morals, and agreeing with him that it is of the utmoſt importance to prevent the corruption of manners, and the total decay of honour, I muſt, nevertheleſs, own, that his deſigns of reformation in the police, ſeem to me ſubject to the ſame

defects

This regulation of domeſtic œconomy was but a piece of the general regulation with reſpect to the whole, and principally with reſpect to trials of cauſes, of which, I believe, the reader will be pleaſed with an account; for the intereſt which every one has in ſeeing the innumerable abuſes of the courts amended, is great, general, and univerſally known. The deſign of Henry was to impart it, at firſt, to the preſidents of the different courts of juſtice, and the king's council in the parliaments; not to be diſputed, but that they might give intelligence, and adviſe upon the ſuppoſition, that, concurring in the ſame deſign, they might diſcover ſomething uſeful for the contrac-

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defects with thoſe of his party in the reformation of religion; that is, that they are ill founded and romantic.

That a few ſhould be ruined by their own miſconduct and folly may, in a moral view, appear a conſiderable evil; but politically will be little or none; ſince, in reality, the public is no ſufferer by it; that which impoveriſhes ſome, enriching others. I only make an exception of the caſes of bankruptcies. I refer, beſides theſe, to the obſervations I have already made, to prove that this miſchief is inevitable, in a nation of great extent, abounding in riches, and ſupported by an univerſal commerce.

Therefore the beſt that can be done in this reſpect, is to confer on the miniſters of religion, the exerciſe of that cenſorial office the author has endeavoured to re-eſtabliſh on the plan of the old Roman cenſure. Were I to make any uſe of this idea for creating new public officers, it would be by applying it, as the author afterwards does, to the courts of juſtice, and the bar.

I leave it to the examination of men of a diſcerning and extenſive genius, how far it would be practicable to accuſtom the people of this kingdom to refer their differences and diſputes to the deciſion of a ſmall number of grave and reverend old men, choſen on account of their abilities, and the reputation of their integrity, to perform the office of arbitrators in all the cities, towns, and other conſiderable places; and who would execute that office in ſuch a manner, that honour, diſtinction, veneration, the public reſpect, and, at the moſt, ſuch advantages as the ſovereign could, without expence to any one, add to theſe, ſhould be to them in lieu of all profit and recompence. Examples are not wanting; nay, it is even common to ſee perſons whom the ſole conſideration of the intereſt of poor men ſinking under the weight of the ruinous proceedings of law, induces to take on them this charitable office, and to exerciſe it without fee or reward. Happy are thoſe who have ſuch a mediator among them! The reſpect and love, attendant on this employment, cauſe many to embrace it with joy, and amply repays them for the labour they undergo in executing it.

tion of proceſſes, and the deſtruction of the deſpicable art of chicanery. When theſe articles of regulation had been finally drawn up, according to the opinions which were thought beſt, his majeſty was reſolved to bring them into parliament, written with his own hand, to have them regiſtered. The reader has already ſeen thoſe which we had previouſly drawn up, which would probably have paſſed with little alteration.

In all ſuits between relations, counted nearly according to the canonical degrees of conſanguinity and affinity, as well temporal as ſpiritual, the plaintiff was obliged, in the firſt place, to make an offer, from which he was not to depart, of referring all the differences to the arbitration of four perſons, two choſen by each party, among their friends or relations; to name theſe two arbitrators on the ſpot, and to ſet down, in diſtinct articles, ſigned with his own hand, all his pretenſions and demands, to which he was not allowed to make any additions. The ſame thing was to be done by the defendant, who had only a month allowed him to name his arbitrators. In another month the arbitrators were to be in poſſeſſion of all the proofs and writings of both parties; another month was allowed the arbitrators to pronounce judgment; and a month after that was allowed to a ſuperior arbitrator, to determine thoſe points on which the voices had been equally divided: for all other points were to be conſidered as determined, and came not under the cogniſance of the ſuperior arbitrator. The ſame regulation took place with the judges: they could not call back the main cauſe before them, nor make any enquiry into the fundamental queſtion; but only give ſentence according to judgment, good or bad, of the arbitrators upon the pieces laid before them. The ſovereign courts had, in this reſpect, no higher privileges than ordinary juriſdictions: they could neither appoint a new inquiry, nor receive new proofs; and they were allowed only a month or ſix weeks to make a decree, which, if they exceeded that time, became void, and the judges themſelves were condemned to pay the loſſes and damages of both parties.

The notaries were declared principal and competent judges of all contracts, tranſactions, obligations, transfers, grants, exchanges, ſales, and leaſes; ſo that the opinion given by them, upon the ſenſe of any contract brought before them, was proviſionally eſtabliſhed, notwithſtanding any oppoſition or appeal; and the ſuperior judges could not proceed, upon that ſentence, in any other manner than as upon the ſentence of a court of eſtabliſhed judicature. The precaution, by which the knavery of the notaries was obviated, was, that firſt every act muſt have paſſed in the preſence of two notaries, or of one notary, and two witneſſes; in the ſecond place, the contracting parties were obliged to bring each of them an advocate to the aſſiſtance of the notaries, whoſe advice the notaries were to take, and ſet down their names in the deciſions. This act, and the ſentence thus paſt, would never afterwards be falſified, if it was for a ſum exceeding a hundred livres.

The ſummons could not be brought before any other judge than that of the defendant, and, as I have ſaid, it was to contain all the claims of the plaintiff, in a manner ſo general, that, after that, nothing was to be done beſides making an anſwer to the allegations of the defendant, under a penalty upon the judges, advocates, and ſolicitors. Theſe advocates and ſolicitors were immediately to put the cauſe into ſuch a ſtate, that it might be determined; and till it was in ſuch a ſtate, they were forbidden to plead it, or bring it into court. The moſt conſiderable cauſes, thoſe in which there were to be many writings and much evidence, could not be delayed more than three months; and here, as in all other bills of importance, bills of review were not

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allowed, and the only recourſe was to letters patents diſpatched in the council of ſtate, and ſealed with the great ſeal.

This regulation extended, in its particulars, to every ſingle point of law, or cuſtom that required to be rectified; ſuch as the rules, which are already made mention of, upon the bad œconomy of the inhabitants, upon the common right of poſſeſſion between huſband and wife, and others, which I do not mention, with reſpect to perquiſites, ſalaries, vacations, and other charges; as well as of the different ſubterfuges of chicanery, and all the abuſes of the courts of juſtice; with reſpect to pleaders and writers, and many other things, of which every body hears loud complaints. The king could find nothing better to be done, than to refer all thoſe particulars to the diſcretion and regulation of twelve men, picked out from amongſt thoſe who had moſt knowledge of buſineſs, and were men of the greateſt wiſdom and equity, who were to purſue the deſign in the following method: They were to write down, in the form of a memorial, all the formalities, generally abſurd, without omitting any: in the next place, thoſe which they thought the public good required to be left out: and laſtly, that which they thought beſt to ſubſtitute in their place. This work being ſo far finiſhed, was to be expoſed to a careful examination of three of the king's principal miniſters and counſellors, who were to give their opinion about it; after which the king was likewiſe to declare his ſentiments, and to give it all the authority neceſſary to make the future practices of the courts invariable and uniform.

When we had once begun to compoſe this general inventory of ſtate, it became one of our moſt uſual ſubjects of converſation, and the king appeared extremely impatient to have it made perfect. He ſent one of the pages of his chamber for me one morning, when the weather was exceſſive hot;

for, I think, it was in the month of June. I went directly to his cloſet; but I found he had juſt left it, and was already in the Tuilleries. I could not overtake him till he was got as far as the terrace, belonging to the capuchin friars, near a little door, through which he entered their chapel to hear maſs. As ſoon as he ſaw me, at a diſtance followed by that croud of clients who ſeem to gueſs every place where miniſters are likely to be; "Go, "ſaid he, and tell the capuchins, that they muſt "delay maſs a little; for I muſt confer with M. de "Sully, who is not a good maſs-man: if he would "take my advice as to that affair, I ſhould love "him ſtill more than I do, and there is nothing "which he might not expect from my friendſhip: "however, ſuch as he is, I have a tender affection "for him, and receive great advantages from "his ſervices." His majeſty then took my hand, which he held in his; and during two hours that we walked together, he talked to me only of ſome new memorials, which he aſked me for, to add to his cabinet of ſtate. At parting, he bid me aloud to be as exact and diligent as poſſible in this work. "Let there be few words, ſaid he, and much mat- "ter. However, all muſt be plain and clear; for "I would communicate ſome part of it to two or "three of my ſervants, whoſe names I will tell "you." I replied, that his majeſty muſt give me a little time to execute this taſk, ſince he required method, brevity, and clearneſs at once. "Do it "then as ſoon as you can, ſaid Henry; you know "my ſtyle, and I know yours; they agree well "together."

I SENT a meſſage to the chancellor, to let him know that I ſhould not go to the council, and I ſhut myſelf up all the reſt of that day, and part of the night, looking over books and papers; nor did I even ſit down to ſupper. At ſeven o'clock, the next morning, the king came to the arſenal, attended by thoſe perſons whom he had mentioned to me the day before. Theſe were Meſſieurs d'Ornano, de Boëſſe, Du-Bourg, de Liſle, de St. André, de Montpelier, de Pilles, de Fortia, de St. Canard, de La-Buiſſe, de La-Vieuville. There were likewiſe Meſſieurs de Vitry, de Vic, de Néreſtan, de St. Géran, La-Varenne, D'Eſcurès, Erard, and Châtillon, engineers, (for part of ſome affairs, relating to their profeſſion, made the buſineſs) Bethune, my couſin; and, laſtly, ſome foreigners, ſent by Leſdiguieres and the duke of Bouillon, and another, named Pucharnault, from La-Force. My cloſet was almoſt full. I had not been able to draw up the memorial in queſtion, and the reaſon I gave his majeſty for it, who had aſked for it immediately, was, that I had received ſome diſpatches from La-Force, concerning a new diſturbance raiſed by the Spaniards in Bearn, and the Lower Navarre, which it was neceſſary to anſwer immediately. I likewiſe writ to him, ſaid I, about my nephew, and my niece Biron, whom they want to get divorced, which will be a fine piece of work; for ſhe believes ſhe is with child; and ſhe really is ſo. "This, replied "his majeſty, is one of the ſtrangeſt caſes I ever "knew, and the moſt ridiculous: I am deceived if "ever you will be able to bring theſe people to "reaſon." "Finiſh your diſpatches," added this prince, after telling me, in a low voice, ſomething he had to communicate to me, "and finiſh likewiſe "our papers as ſoon as poſſible, and do not go to "the council to-day." "That cannot be, Sire, I "replied; for ſome affairs of conſequence are to be "laid before it, which were not examined yeſterday "on account of my abſence." "Well, do the beſt "you can, ſaid he, and adieu; for I am going to "the Tuilleries."

I LABOURED with ſo much induſtry at the memorial, that it was ready the next morning, when his majeſty again ſent for me to the Tuilleries. I gave my ſecretary theſe papers to carry, incloſed in a looſe ſheet of paper, and ſealed. I found Sillery and Villeroi with the king, and we all four continued to walk, during almoſt two hours, diſcourſing upon the ſcheme of theſe memorials, with ſo much heat and action, that it was eaſily perceived by thoſe at a diſtance, that we did not agree in our opinions. I was going away without taking notice of my packet to the king, when he called me back, and aſked me for it. I ſhewed it to him in my ſecretary's hands, whom I afterwards ordered to preſent it to his majeſty when he had an inclination to read it: but to take care that he brought it back with him ſealed again, in the ſame manner it was now. What had paſſed in our converſation made it neceſſary for me to uſe this precaution, which my ſecretary afterwards excuſed himſelf for to Henry, by alledging the poſitive commands I had given him. He followed the king, who went to the capuchins to hear maſs, and took this opportunity to go to breakfaſt; for it would not have been eaſy to have found another. The king ſeeing him when he came from maſs, "Follow me, ſaid he, to the Louvre, "and do not go away from thence till I have ſpoken "to you." As ſoon as he came to his cloſet, he aſked him for the packet. My ſecretary then told him the orders I had given him. "Well, ſaid his "majeſty, be it ſo: but, again I tell you, do not "leave the Louvre." He then went into his library to leave the packet there while he dined The court was not very full, becauſe it was later than uſual. The king hardly ſpoke to any one, and appeared to be in deep thought, often ſtriking his knife upon his plate.

My ſecretary believed he was going to be diſmiſſed, when he ſaw the king riſe from table and return to his cloſet, and heard himſelf called for about half an hour afterwards: but ſome princes and lords of the court coming in that moment, with whom his majeſty ſeemed to have entered into converſation, he withdrew into a corner with La-Varenne and Béringhen. The place where they ſtood was very dark, ſo that it was not eaſy to perceive them, eſpecially if they took a little care to conceal themſelves, which they did, tho' without any deſign. Some minutes afterwards they ſaw Henry advance, with two or three of the company whom he had ſeparated from the reſt, and came ſo near them that they could hear what he ſaid, although he did not ſpeak very loud; they redoubled their attention, and they heard him ſay theſe words: "I am fatigued with "walking ſo long this morning; for I have been "converſing more than two hours, upon matters "of great importance, with three men whom I have "found as contrary in their opinions, as they are "in their tempers and inclinations. Any other "than myſelf, perhaps, would find it difficult to "employ them; but I am ſo well acquainted with "their whims, that I even draw advantages from "their debates and oppoſition, which ſerves to make "all affairs they are engaged in ſo plain and clear, "that it is eaſy for me to chuſe that method which "appears to be beſt. You know them well enough "without my naming them."

His majeſty continued to draw the pictures of his three miniſters in the following manner. I ſhall be candid enough not to make the leaſt alteration in his words, even where myſelf was concerned, and it was with me that he began. "Some perſons, ſaid "Henry, complain, and, indeed, I do myſelf ſometimes, of his temper; they ſay he is harſh, impatient, and obſtinate; he is accuſed of having too "enterpriſing a mind, of preſuming too much upon "his own opinions, exaggerating the worth of his "own actions, and leſſening that of others; as "likewiſe of eagerly aſpiring after honours and "riches. Now, although I am well convinced that "part of theſe imputations are true, and that I am

“ obliged to keep a high hand over him, when he “ offends me with thoſe ſallies of ill humour, yet “ I cannot ceaſe to love him, eſteem him, and employ him, in all affairs of conſequence; becauſe “ I am very ſure that he loves my perſon, that he “ takes an intereſt in my preſervation, and that he “ is ardently ſolicitous for the honour, the glory, “ and grandeur of me and my kingdom. I know “ alſo that he has no malignity in his heart, that “ he is indefatigable in buſineſs, and fruitful “ in expedients; that he is a careful manager of “ my revenue, a man laborious and diligent, who “ endeavours to be ignorant of nothing, and to render himſelf capable of conducting all affairs, “ whether of peace or war; who writes and ſpeaks “ in a ſtyle that pleaſes me, becauſe it is, at once, “ that of a ſoldier and ſtateſman. In a word, I “ confeſs to you, that, notwithſtanding all his extravagancies, and little tranſports of paſſion, I “ find no one ſo capable as he is of conſoling me “ under every uneaſineſs.” I ſhall not here expatiate upon the praiſe or blame which is conveyed in theſe words; but candidly confeſs, that both the one and the other I may deſerve. The part of an honeſt man, upon ſuch an occaſion, is to profit of both, that he may daily rectify his heart and his manners.

“ The ſecond,” purſued Henry, ſpeaking of the chancellor Sillery, “ is of a compliant diſpoſition, “ not eaſily offended, wonderfully inſinuating in “ his behaviour, and cautious in his actions; he “ has a good underſtanding, is well verſed in ſcience, and the buſineſs of his profeſſion; nor is “ he ignorant of others: he ſpeaks well, with method, and clearneſs; he is not capable of forming any black deſigns againſt others; yet he is “ extremely ſolicitous to accumulate wealth and titles: he is never without news or perſons in his “ pay, to make diſcoveries for him: he is not of a

" humour to hazard, lightly, either his perſon or " fortune for others. His virtues and his faults being thus ballanced, it is eaſy for me to uſe the " former advantageouſly for myſelf, and guard againſt " the bad conſequences of the latter *.

" As to the third," continued the king, ſpeaking of Villeroi, " he has been long practiſed in buſineſs; is thoroughly acquainted with the tranſactions of his own times: he has, from his earlieſt youth, been employed in ſtate affairs more " than the two others: he obſerves great order " and regularity in the execution of his office, and " judgment in diſtributing thoſe papers which belong to his employment: he is generous, and " his abilities appear by his modeſty and ſilence; and " his reluctance to ſpeak in public †; yet he is obſtinate, and cannot bear to have his opinions contradicted, which, he thinks, ought to ſerve for " good reaſons: yet he will temporiſe a while, and " wait with patience till the faults of others have " proved him to be in the right, which I have ſometimes found my advantage in." This diſcourſe of his majeſty was addreſſed to perſons of the firſt quality, who, although they had probably inclination enough to anſwer it, yet continued ſilent: and the king, ſome moments afterwards, perceiving my

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* This chancellor did the ſtate three ſignal ſervices; by employing part of his wealth in retaining the Swiſs in our alliance; at the peace of Vervins; and in negotiating the king's marriage. " The " chancellor de Sillery was a man of no learning. Henry IV. uſed " to ſay of him, and the conſtable, Henry de Montmorency, that " with his chancellor, who did not underſtand Latin, and his conſtable, who could neither read nor write, he could execute the " moſt difficult affairs." Amelot de La-Houſſaye, note 1. on the 195th letter of cardinal D'Oſſat.

† Of all the places in theſe Memoirs, where M. de Villeroi is mentioned, we ought to fix on this as the principal one, to give us a proper inſight into the character of that miniſter, and chiefly from the opinion Henry IV. had of it. One ſingle original account, like this, deſerves more credit than all uncertain reports, or ſuch as are dictated by prejudice, averſion, or a ſpirit of party.

ſecretary, ordered my papers to be given him, which he brought back to me ſealed, as I had deſired.

Before we leave theſe general affairs of the finances, it is neceſſary to ſee what there is particular on this article for the preſent year. Denis Feydeau and his aſſociates had got the general farm of the aids adjudged to themſelves, by offering two hundred thouſand livres a-year more than the former farmers. I foreſaw, what really happened, that Feydeau would not be able to get in his money. Accordingly he preſented a petition to his majeſty, praying to be diſcharged of theſe two hundred thouſand livres. I thought theſe farmers ſuffered no more than what they juſtly deſerved, ſince no unforeſeen accident had happened, nor had any obſtacle been raiſed to their quiet poſſeſſion: and what encreaſed my anger was, that the imprudence of theſe new-comers had deprived us of farmers, who were able to pay, to ſubſtitute others in their room who were inſolvent. However, I prevailed upon his majeſty to agree to this diminution under the title of a grant, without which they would be expoſed to a bankruptcy, and the additional trouble of ſetting the aids again to ſale. I judged only, that it ought not to take place till the 1ſt of January 1610, or, at leaſt, till the 1ſt of October this year, that his majeſty might not loſe, all at once, the ſum of four hundred thouſand francs.

I caused Ferrand, firſt ſerjeant of the chamber of accounts of Paris, to be proſecuted. He was deprived of all the offices and commiſſions he exerciſed in this court, which his majeſty, even before judgment was given, beſtowed upon La-Font, who has been mentioned in theſe Memoirs: he was already intendant, and the king, as a farther reward for his fidelity, made him a preſent of the furniture of the conciérgerie. M. the count of Soiſſons, and the other officers of the king's houſhold, preſented likewiſe a petition againſt the treaſurer Pajot, which was ſent to me. Puget, another treaſurer of the exchequer, having, the year before, by the orders of his majeſty, given a favourable declaration for Placin, formerly his clerk, which the king was guaranty for, and was depoſited in my hands, his majeſty wrote to me to give this paper to Puget, as he himſelf had engaged ſhould be done, in caſe the ſuit, which was between theſe two financiers, could not be terminated without it.

His majeſty, after firſt aſking my advice, ordered a brevet to be granted to Mortier Choiſy, by which he was declared releaſed from the reſidue of his farm for fifty thouſand livres; half to be paid immediately, and the other half in ſix months. He likewiſe ordered to be delivered to Zamet the acquittances of the two offices of arrears in Normandy, amounting to five thouſand crowns, with the writings neceſſary for the payment, likewiſe of the ſum of forty-nine thouſand nine hundred and odd livres, for which he had given an aſſignment, the laſt year, upon the two ſols and ſix deniers upon each meaſure of ſalt for a like ſum, which Zamet had advanced him. Henry likewiſe gave twelve thouſand livres to Montigny, ſix thouſand to D'Eſcures, and two thouſand four hundred livres to different penſionaries in Burgundy, which were delivered to them by M. Le-Grand, and paid the preſident Tambonneau his penſion for the laſt year. Theſe circumſtances I collect from letters his majeſty writ to me with his own hand.

I received alſo ſome letters from the queen, one of which related to her releaſing certain rights which had been made over to her, and were charged on lands belonging to queen Margaret, to whom they had been granted by brevet. In another ſhe deſired that I would pay the wife of Conchini twenty thouſand crowns, which the king, to oblige the queen, had given her upon the preſidents eſtabliſhed in the office of finances. Leonora, having ſo great intereſt in the affair, had performed her part ſo well, that the money, as the queen told me, was ready to be paid.

The ſums, the principal ones at leaſt, which I carried to the account of Henry's private expences, are, firſt, twenty-two thouſand piſtoles, which on the 18th of January, he ſent to tell me that he had loſt at play; a hundred thouſand livres at one time, and fifty-one thouſand at another, which he loſt likewiſe at play to Edouard Fernandes, a Portugueſe. He ordered me to take up this laſt ſum, of fifty-one thouſand livres, upon ſixty thouſand which was to return to him upon the office of advocate-general at Rouen, after the death of Marguerit, to whoſe children he gave the nine thouſand remaining, in conſideration of the good ſervice he had received from their father in this parliament, and he gave the office to Des-Yveteaux *, a relation of the deceaſed; for play a thouſand piſtoles more. Henry, at firſt, ſent only for five hundred; but Beringhen came afterwards for the other five hundred. I carried him a thouſand piſtoles for play likewiſe, when I went with the chancellor to wait on him at Fontainebleau, where he was taking phyſic after the Eaſter-holidays: my journey thither was occaſioned by ſome diſpatches which Préaux had brought from Jeannin. The king, beginning to reflect more ſeriouſly upon the exceſs to which he carried his paſſion for play, became ſenſible of the neceſſity there was to correct it, and often afterwards promiſed me that he would moderate it, if he could do no more. He continued to lay out great ſums upon buildings, and ſent Zamet † from Fontainebleau to inſpect

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* Nicholas Vauquelin Des Yveteaux.

† This rich officer, at that time, took the titles of baron of Murat and Billy, counſellor of the king in all the councils, governor of Fontainebleau, and comptroller of the queen's houſhold. He died at Paris in 1614, aged about 65, leaving one ſon, a camp-marſhal, who was killed at the ſiege of Montpelier; and another, biſhop of

them, when he could not go himſelf. I find likewiſe, in my accounts for this year, an acquittance from Marcadé for four thouſand ſeven hundred and forty livres, for eleven hundred and ſixteen pearls which Henry had made a preſent of to Mademoiſelle de Vendôme, his daughter; another of three thouſand to Mademoiſelle Des Eſſarts: and another of three hundred livres to Saubion, her ſervant.

THE chancellor and I were directed to name commiſſioners to treat with thoſe of the duke of Lorrain, about ſettling the limits of the country of Meſſin, which every day gave riſe to ſome new conteſts. I ſent the comptroller of the fortifications to Calais, with a ſum of money to repair the damage which had been lately done by the ſea to the Riſbank. I was informed of it by vice admiral De-Vic, who could have wiſhed that the government had been at a more conſiderable expence for this town, and who formed ſeveral ſchemes, as well for its conveniency and ſecurity, as to prevent the inundations to which this place and the neighbouring parts were expoſed.

THERE never was a more uſeful law made †, than that which appeared this year againſt the fraudulent bankrupts: it declared, that ſuch bankrupts ſhould be puniſhed with death, as being robbers of the public; that all donations, grants, ſales, and aſſignments made by them, to their children, heirs, friends, and ſuppoſititious creditors, ſhould be annulled, and thoſe that accepted of them puniſhed as their accomplices, if it ſhould appear to the judges that all this was done with an intention to defraud the true creditors. By this regulation all perſons were forbid, on pain of being proſecuted as accomplices likewiſe, to give a retreat to theſe bankrupts, their ſecurities, clerks, or factors; as alſo to re-

of Langres; he had thoſe ſons by Magdalen Le-Clerk Du-Tremblai, and got them legitimated.

† Merc. Franc. and other hiſtorians. Anno 1609.

ceive any of their goods, papers, or effects; or to afford them the leaſt aſſiſtance: all perſons were permitted to detain them without a warrant, and to bring them to juſtice, notwithſtanding any arret and cuſtom to the contrary: and, laſtly, the true creditors of the bankrupts were forbid to make any agreements or contracts with them, or any perſons acting for them, upon pain of loſing their debts, and even of having a criminal proſecution commenced againſt them. An action at law was the only way left open to them. This appeared to me to be almoſt all that could be done to ſecure the public trade and tranquillity, both equally intereſted in an abuſe which was now become very common.

THIS edict was followed by another againſt duels, which I had long earneſtly ſollicited for. An extraordinary council being aſſembled for this purpoſe in the firſt gallery at Fontainebleau, his majeſty, who was reſolved to examine into this matter thoroughly, deſired to know the origin of the different forms and cuſtoms uſed in duelling. His counſellors gave him no cauſe to compliment them upon their erudition: all remained ſilent, and myſelf, as well as the others; but with ſuch expreſſion in my looks, as made the king eaſily perceive that I only wanted his command to ſpeak. His majeſty then turned towards me, and ſaid, "Grand maſter, by "your looks, I gueſs you know more than you pre"tend to know: I entreat; nay, I command you "to tell us your thoughts." I ſtill refuſed through reſpect; but being again preſt to declare my ſentiments, I made a ſpeech, which I ſhall not repeat here, ſince it contained nothing more than what I formerly ſaid in theſe Memoirs, when I treated that ſubject. I took care to ſend the edict againſt duels † immediately into my government, and to have it obſerved there with the utmoſt ſtrictneſs.

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† This edict, which obliges thoſe who have been offended in point of honour to have recourſe to the marſhals of France, or their lieutenants, for reparation, inflicts very ſevere penalties; infamy, loſs of nobility, and even death. P. Matthieu, Vol. II. book iv.

To this account of the affairs of the government, it will not be improper to add ſome intrigues of the court. Upon the advices I have mentioned of certain factions in ſeveral provinces, the king reſolved to ſend thither ſome perſon in his name, and N—— who was the man he pitchedu pon for this purpoſe, one would neither be pleaſed nor offended at ſeeing himſelf mentioned here. I could not approve of this choice, knowing that the hatred he bore to ſeveral perſons there, would induce him to lay crimes to their charge they never had the leaſt intentions of committing. I, therefore, told his majeſty, that, if N—— was the perſon employed by him, I would ſend no one thither from myſelf, becauſe I did not chuſe to act with ſuch an aſſociate. N——, diſappointed of this employment, reſolved to revenge himſelf on me by every method he could think of, and offered thoſe courtiers, whom he knew to be my enemies, to ſerve them as the inſtrument of all their deſigns againſt me.

ACCORDINGLY he went one day to the marquis de Coeuvres, and after obliging him to ſecrecy, it being, he ſaid, his zeal only which induced him to make the diſcovery, he affirmed, that I was gone to the parliament under pretence of having ſome buſineſs there; but, in reality, to withdraw from the regiſter's office the letters of legitimation of M. de Vendôme, which had been carried thither to be regiſtered in parliament. De Coeuvres went immediately to make this report to the perſon whom it moſt concerned, and M. de Vendôme went alſo as haſtily to complain of it to the king. His majeſty aſked him the name of the perſon who had given him this information; but M. de Vendôme, without diſcovering the impoſtor, anſwered for the truth of this report in ſuch a manner, that the king could no longer doubt of it; and when he ſaw me the next morning, aſked me what buſineſs I had at the parliament. I replied, (which was true) That I had gone thither to take copies of ſome papers in the regiſters, for which I had occaſion. "Was it for "any thing that concerned my ſon de Vendôme?" returned Henry. "No, Sire," ſaid I; and, ſurpriſed at the manner in which he ſpoke to me, "Why ſhould you think M. de Vendôme was con- "cerned in it?" "I know why," replied this prince coldly. Two or three other words, equally myſterious, which eſcaped his majeſty, gave me to underſtand, that he had ſome ſuſpicion in his mind. I entreated him to tell me what it was, which he did: and I ſoon convinced him that calumny had here played its uſual part.

That ſame day, in the afternoon, the king being at the houſe of the counteſs of Moret, a little boy came there with a packet, which he delivered to the firſt footman he met. Madame de Moret, to whom it was brought, found a billet, in which the ſame informations were given her, concerning her children, as De Coeuvres had received with regard to M. de Vendôme. She began to weep; and the king deſiring to know the reaſon, ſhe gave him the billet to read. Henry aſked for the boy who had brought it; but he was not to be found. "Madam," ſaid he to the counteſs, with a thoughtful and gloomy air, "there is ſome malice here on one ſide or the "other." He then endeavoured to make ſome diſcoveries concerning the author of theſe ſtories. The boy was ſoon found out; and, by what he ſaid, the king gueſſed that N—— was the perſon: for having in vain deſired De Coeuvres to name him, he named him himſelf; and De Coeuvres, in his ſurpriſe, could not deny he was the man. However he gave immediate notice to N—— of what had happened. N——, who ſaw that this affair was likely to become very ſerious, went to Villeroi, and, throwing himſelf at his feet, entreated him to ſupport him againſt the effects of my reſentment. Villeroi, who thought there might be ſome danger in defending him, at leaſt if he did it openly, would not make him any promiſe; but contented himſelf with hazarding, when an opportunity offered, a few favourable words for N——, which his majeſty received with ſuch an air, as made him repent of his complaiſance for that impoſtor.

Henry had juſt then diſcovered two other inſtances of this man's malignant diſpoſition, which ſhewed that he was capable of failing in reſpect to majeſty itſelf: one was, that he had had the imprudence to propagate publicly a feigned tale of an amour between Henry and a certain girl, whom he named, and the malice to inform the queen of it; and the other, that he had encouraged father Gonthier, a jeſuit, to continue his outrageous manner of preaching, which had already made ſome noiſe, by aſſuring him, that one of his ſermons, which he quoted, and which was one of the moſt furious, had been generally admired and praiſed by the lords of the court, naming in particular, the marſhals de Briſſac and D'Ornano ‡. This lie was unfortunate

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‡ "Father Gonthier, a jeſuit, in the preſence of the king, who attended his ſermons in St. Gervaſe's church, on Friday, Chriſtmas-day, Saturday, and Sunday, made continual declamations againſt the huguenots, whom he ſeveral times called *vermin, ſcoundrels*:" and ſpeaking of the new articles of their confeſſion, in which they call the pope antichriſt; "If it is true, Sire, ſays he, that the pope is antichriſt, on what footing ſtands your marriage? Where is the diſpenſation for it? What will become of M. the Dauphin?" Marſhal D'Ornano ſaid one day to the king; "If any jeſuit had dared to preach before me at Bourdeaux, as father Gonthier did in your majeſty's preſence, I would have ordered him to be thrown into the river the moment he came out of the pulpit." Mem. Hiſtoire de France, anno 1609.

All the ſermons of thoſe times are filled with expreſſions, whoſe boldneſs and ſingularity, not to call them by a worſe name, would be extremely ſhocking to us at preſent. The heretics were outrageous in their ſatyrs, and too often the preachers, in their ſermons, launched out into the moſt extravagant declamations. A cotemporary hiſtorian, Peter Matthieu, book iii. nevertheleſs, gives this teſtimony of the jeſuits; "That there was more regularity, modeſty, gravity, and modeenough for N—; for theſe two gentlemen being preſent at the reprimand the king gave father Gonthier, they likewiſe ſpoke to the father, and charged with inſolence and falſhood, the perſon who had dared to ſay, they had approved of a diſcourſe ſo full of impertinence. All this ſo irritated Henry againſt the impoſtor, that when I went the next day to deſire he would do me juſtice, "I have diſcovered "the whole myſtery, ſaid he to me; it is the mali- "cious wit of N— that has invented all theſe "ſtories; but, for your ſake, I baniſh him from the "court:" and the order was accordingly ſignified to him. This affair was much talked of, as may be well imagined: I confeſs I was ten whole days in perplexity and uneaſineſs about it.

THIS, however, was a trifle compared with the confuſion which the prince of Condé occaſioned. The marriage of this prince with Mademoiſelle de Montmorency, was ſo far from ſtifling the reports at court of an intrigue between Henry and the princeſs, that it did but the more increaſe them, as I had always apprehended it would. Two thouſand crowns given by his majeſty for wedding cloaths for the young lady; jewels to the value of eighteen thouſand livres, purchaſed for her, by Madame D'Angoulême, of Meſſier a jeweller, who lived upon the bridge Au-change, and whoſe receipt, of the 29th

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"moderation, in their ſermons, than in many others." Sauval alſo ſpeaking of father Gonthier's preaching, greatly commends his eloquence and apoſtolic zeal. He relates, that Henry IV. being one day at the ſame church of St. Gervaſe, when father Gonthier was preaching; that preacher, juſtly ſcandalized at the irreverence with which he ſaw the marchioneſs of Verneuil, and other ladies of her company, talk, laugh, and endeavour to make his majeſty laugh, turned towards that prince, and ſaid to him; "Sire, will you never leave off coming, "accompanied by a ſeraglio, to hear the word of God, and of giving "ſo unedifying an example in this holy place?" That the king, inſtead of ſending their preacher to the Baſtile, as all thoſe ladies begged of him to do, went again the next day to hear him preach; and that meeting with him as he was going into the pulpit, he told him he was obliged to him for his correction; and that he had nothing to fear: but only deſired he would not reprove him again in public.

of May, was publicly known; a great number of other preſents and gratuities in money given to the prince of Condé on account of this marriage, were conſidered as ſo many proofs of the correſpondence between the king and princeſs, although, to ſpeak candidly, there was nothing in all this which might not be juſtified. But as I would avoid, likewiſe, falling into the other extreme with the flatterers of this prince, who affected to maintain in public, that he had not the leaſt regard for the young princeſs, I continue firm in my firſt ſentiments. This, indeed, was a medium between both, which very few perſons kept. The queen and the prince of Condé, who were moſt concerned in the affair, being inflamed with-rage at all theſe reports continually whiſpered in their ears, ſoon put the whole court into an uproar. All my endeavours to calm the queen were fruitleſs: ſhe was quite furious, and the prince, who did not reſtrain himſelf from ſhewing his diſcontent publicly, meditated from that moment the imprudent ſtep which he took ſome time afterwards.

Henry received the firſt notice of his deſign, in a billet which was ſent him to Fontainebleau, whither he went to paſs the Eaſter-holidays, and he diſpatched it immediately to me at Paris. This was the purport of the billet: That the prince, accompanied by his phyſician, had left Fontainebleau the day after Eaſter, and came to lodge at Paris in the houſe of a Spaniſh penſionary; that all the night had been paſſed in deliberating, with great agitation on the prince's ſide, whether he ſhould not make his retreat inſtantly to Spain, which his hoſt had prevented him from doing, by making him ſenſible of the fatal conſequences that would attend ſuch an action; that the next morning a purſe of one thouſand doubloons was brought to the prince, who ſtill lay concealed at that houſe, with an aſſurance that the remainder, which was apparently ſolicited by his phyſician, ſhould be ſent him in a little time. This man has been accuſed of managing the whole affair, becauſe he had already laboured to get the marriage broken off, and make up a match between the prince and Mademoiſelle de Maïenne. He was likewiſe, it was ſaid, connected with another phyſician, a Genoeſe, who had been with Don John, and ſix weeks before was gone to the count Spinola, at the Hague, from whence he was to go to England. This billet agreed with another, which had been ſent to Beringhen, already mentioned, where it was ſaid, that the prince of Condé had obtained letters from the king of England, to the States of Holland.

All theſe informations, which Henry was entreated by the authors to keep very ſecret, could not make him believe the prince was capable of committing ſo great an error. His majeſty came to Paris at the beginning of May, and, after a ſhort ſtay, returned to Fontainebleau, whither M. the prince followed him. It is certain, that his behaviour, and his diſcourſe in public, gave room to believe that he only went to brave his majeſty. "My friend," ſaid Henry in a letter to me, dated June the 12. "M. "the prince is here; but he acts like a man poſſeſ-"ſed: you will be angry and aſhamed at the things "he ſays of me: I ſhall loſe all patience with him "at laſt, and I am reſolved to talk to him with ſe-"verity." The king, to puniſh him, ordered me not to pay him the April quarter of his penſion, and to give refuſals to his purveyor and all his creditors, who, knowing the gratuities which his majeſty had beſtowed upon this prince on occaſion of his marriage, addreſſed themſelves to me as to the diſpenſer of them. "If this does not keep him within "bounds, ſaid his majeſty, we muſt think of ſome "other method; for he ſays the moſt injurious "things of me. We will conſider together what "is to be done, when you come hither †."

Monsieur the prince fixed upon me to impart his grievances to: but in what quality is not eaſy for me to declare; ſince, if I may flatter myſelf that my advice was not indifferent to him, yet, on the other hand, I may have reaſon to ſuſpect, that, in thoſe aſſurances of reſpect and attachment, with which, to a perſon of his rank, one would ſoften the freedom of diſapproving his conduct, he ſought for a pretence to advance afterwards with ſome appearance of probability, that I did not oppoſe his deſign of leaving the kingdom. It is this which obliges me to give an account of the converſation I had with this prince at my houſe, whither he came on Wedneſday afternoon, when he knew I was not gone to the council.

He entered my cloſet, bearing in his countenance all the marks of the diſturbance of his mind. I was not ſurpriſed that, without any other prelude, he began to talk to me of the reaſons he had to complain of the king. In my anſwer, I reminded him of the many obligations his family in general owed to the king; and added, that himſelf in particular had received favours from his majeſty, which not only deſerved that he ſhould ſacrifice to them a little reſentment, conceived upon a mere ſuſpicion and an imaginary wrong, but alſo a juſt diſcontent. The prince, who could not reliſh my arguments, entertained me with I know not how many deſigns, he ſuppoſed, Henry had formed againſt him, all which I attributed to the inquietude of his mind, and to ſuſpicions carried too far: and theſe I thought to diſſipate, by repreſenting to him, in ſuch a manner as left him no room to doubt of my ſincerity, that his majeſty was ſo far from having a deſign to proceed to any extremities with him, that he would reflect that he was his near kinſman, only to add to that natural ſweetneſs with which he treated every body, a particular friendſhip and diſtinguiſhing reſpect for him. And I remember, that inſtead of allowing, through complaiſance for the prince, that Henry was capable of oppreſſing an innocent perſon, words which indeed were often repeated to me, I told him plainly, that it was commonly thoſe who were moſt guilty that abuſed the word innocence, notwithſtanding which they could not avoid meeting with the puniſhment they merited.

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† The Memoirs for the Hiſtory of France ſpeak of this in the following manner: "The king being deſperately in love with the "princeſs of Condé, ſet every body at work, even her huſband's "mother." The prince complained of this, and deſired leave of his majeſty to retire with his wife, to one of his country houſes. The king refuſed his requeſt in a rude manner, and went ſo far as to affront and threaten him. It is ſaid, the prince made a haughty reply, and made uſe of the word *tyranny*; that the king laying hold of that word, ſaid: "I never in my life was guilty of an act of "tyranny, but when I cauſed you to be received for what you were "not." The prince was in a paſſion with his mother for ſuffering herſelf to be employed as an inſtrument to corrupt the chaſtity of his wife. It was ſaid, that the marchioneſs of Verneuil, who commonly ſpoke to the king not as to her maſter, but as ſhe would to her footman, bantering on this ſubject, ſaid to him: "Are not you a ſad "wretch, who want to lie with your ſon's wife? for you know you "have told me he is your ſon."

M. the prince, who, after ſo free a ſpeech, ought to have been upon his guard againſt me, did not ſcruple to declare that he was reſolved to leave France. Theſe imprudent words appeared to me as the effects only of an inconſiderate rage; and, if I oppoſed him with firmneſs, it was becauſe I thought, that, on theſe occaſions, firmneſs ought to accompany the advice which is given. I told him, that I could not believe he was capable of betraying, in ſuch a manner, his king, his country, his honour, and his duty; that the kingdom, and even the court, was the only fit reſidence for princes of the blood; that every where elſe their grandeur ſullied their reputation; that it was even imputed to them as a crime to remain too long in any other place, without having obtained his majeſty's permiſſion for it

The prince replying that ſuch a reſtraint ſuited neither with his birth nor rank, I anſwered, that the laws of the ſtate obliged the children and brothers of the king to as great, or, perhaps, greater ſtrictneſs of conduct, than the meaneſt of his ſubjects: and this I proved to him by examples drawn from the Hiſtory of Lewis XI. the late duke of Anjou, and of Henry himſelf. It was not in this manner that the prince wiſhed to hear me ſpeak. I perceived that his intention was now, by giving a new turn to his words, to convince me that I had brought him over to my opinion; but, from ſo ſudden an alteration, I drew the moſt certain proof, that he had really taken that very reſolution which his laſt words would have perſuaded me he had abſolutely given up.

I HAD ſo little doubt of it, that when I was informed the prince, after he quitted me, appeared to be wholly calmed; that he had even complained to the queen of the report that was ſpread of his having a deſign to quit the court, and aſſured this princeſs that he had not the leaſt intention to do ſo, adding theſe words, "I am very well contented with his "majeſty;" and ſpoke in the ſame manner almoſt publicly; I would not defer a moment waiting on the king, whom I aſſured, after faithfully relating all that had paſſed between the prince and myſelf, that he would not be in France eight days longer. Henry was ready to treat me as a madman, there was ſo little appearance, he ſaid, that he could live in a foreign country like a prince without the aſſiſtance he received from him; ſince it was impoſſible he ſhould be able to carry away any of his effects ſo privately, but that he might be eaſily prevented. To theſe reaſons his majeſty added what the prince had juſt ſaid to the queen. All that you tell me, Sire, replied I, cannot make me alter my opinion; but rather confirms me in it the more: you may be angry with me, and accuſe me of obſtinacy; but time and the event will ſhew you that I am not miſtaken. I ſee ſeveral perſons, purſued I, who are in the ſecret, and who deceive you, although they are more obliged to you than the prince: but this ought not to ſeem ſurpriſing, ſince you help to deceive yourſelf. “ You “ do not name any perſon,” ſaid his majeſty, ſuppoſing that it was the queen's domeſtics of whom I ſpoke, “ but I know whom you mean.” This was not very difficult to diſcover. There were more, beſide the king and I, who ſaw that the cabal played a ſtrange part here; for they not only ſpread a thouſand falſe ſtories about the king and the princeſs of Condé through the court, affirming them to be abſolutely true, which was indeed the effect of their ordinary malice; but to theſe they added that deteſtable artifice, not eaſy to be deſcribed, by which they made theſe falſhoods ſerve to render the king in the higheſt degree hateful to the queen, and forced this princeſs to abandon herſelf entirely to their conduct: hence proceeded thoſe plots to which, without her knowledge, they dared to give the authority of her name; hence the motives of a thouſand new inſtances, not to defer the ceremony of the coronation any longer.

THERE was but an interval of four days between the converſation I had with the king, on the ſubject of the prince of Condé, and the flight of that prince. On the 29th of Auguſt [†], at eleven o'clock at night,

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[†] The laſt of November, not the 29th of Auguſt, as theſe Memoirs erroneouſly ſay. “ The prince, ſays marſhal de Baſſompierre, “ left the court and went to Muret, which he quitted, accompa- “ nied by Rochefort and Touray, a valet de chambre, who carried “ the princeſs his wife behind him on horſeback, Mademoiſelle Du “ Certeau, and a chambermaid called Philipette, and went to Lan- “ drecy. The king was at play in his little cloſet when firſt D'El- “ bene, and afterwards the chevalier Du-Guet, brought him the “ news of it. I was neareſt to him. He ſaid to me, in a whiſper, “ my friend Baſſompierre, I am undone: this man has carried his “ wife into a wood, I do not know whether with deſign to kill her, “ or to carry her out of France: take care of my money and go on “ with the game, whilſt I go to learn more particular news. Every

Praſlin entered my chamber juſt as I was going to bed; he told me, that the king wanted me, and that I muſt attend him immediately: "What can "the king mean, couſin?" ſaid I, in the firſt emotions of my anger, and without giving him time to explain himſelf, "pardieu, he torments me to death: "I cannot live: I cannot ſleep. I muſt," purſued I, with great impatience, ſuppoſing this ſummons was upon an account which, for very good reaſons, I might diſpenſe with myſelf from obeying, "I "muſt riſe at three o'clock to-morrow morning to "read letters and accounts, which I have received, "and muſt be anſwered immediately: I muſt make "a memorandum of all that I am to do to-morrow, "of what is to be tranſacted by the council, of "what I am to ſay to the king, what directions I "am to give my clerks, my ſecretaries, and all "thoſe who have any offices under me: I cannot "get all this done before eight o'clock in the morning, at which hour I go to the council; judge "then whether I have any time to loſe, and if I can "go now to the Louvre, from whence I know it "will be impoſſible for me to return till two or "three hours after midnight: I ſhall have no leiſure for employing myſelf in my cloſet; for the "whole day will be taken up in giving audience, "and in conferences with the clerks of accounts "and other officers, who have buſineſs with me." "I know all this, ſaid Praſlin, nor is the king ignorant of it; for he ſaid aloud, before all the company,

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"body gave over play, and I took an opportunity of returning the "king his money, which he had left on the table. I went to him, "and never in my life ſaw any one ſo diſtracted, or in ſo violent a "paſſion." Baſſompierre afterwards relates what paſt in the queen's chamber, and the advice M. de Sully gave the king, in the ſame manner theſe Memoirs do. Henry IV. gave ſuch violent ſigns of grief and deſpair on the princeſs of Condé's being thus carried away, that ſome ill-informed writers, ſuch as the author of l'Hiſtoire de la Mere & du Fils, have advanced, that the war he was going to enter upon in Flanders, when he was aſſaſſinated, was partly intended to oblige the archduke to deliver up that princeſs to him. See alſo Mezerai and other hiſtorians.

"pany, that I ſhould make you angry by coming for "you at ſuch an unſeaſonable hour, and at the only "time when you have leiſure to take any reſt to "relieve both your body and mind: but there is no "help for it, monſieur, you muſt come: this is an "affair that concerns him nearly, and he is perſuaded, that, if there is any remedy for the evil, "it is you only who can diſcover it. The man "you know of, is fled, as, the king ſaid, you foretold; and, what is worſe, has taken the lady along "with him." "Oh, replied I, is this the buſineſs "then for which he has ſent for me; truly there will "be a little anger on his ſide: for, I doubt, we ſhall "not agree in our opinions." "I know, added I, "that Mars and Venus are often in very good intelligence; yet, if we would have good ſucceſs in "affairs that depend upon the former, the latter "muſt ſometimes yield to him; and this poſſibly "may furniſh us with ſome good reaſon for haſtening our buſineſs: therefore let us go, couſin; I "am ready."

When I came to the Louvre, I found the king in the queen's chamber, walking backwards and forwards, with his head reclined, and his hands folded behind his back: with the queen were preſent Meſſieurs de Sillery, de Villeroi, de Gêvres, de La-Force, La-Varenne, and ſome others, leaning againſt the hangings, and at ſuch a diſtance from each other, that they could not converſe but aloud. "Well," ſaid Henry, taking my hand as ſoon as I entered, "our man is gone, and has carried all with "him: what ſay you to this?" "I ſay, Sire, replied I, that I am not ſurpriſed to hear it; and, "after what he ſaid to me at the arſenal, I expected "this flight, which you might have prevented if you "would have believed me." "I knew you would ſay "this, replied the king; but we muſt not ſpeak of "things that are paſt; let us think only of the future, and let us conſider what is to be done now:

" give me your advice; for I have yet applied to no " other perſon." " Sire, returned I, I am not yet " ſufficiently well informed of all the circumſtances " relating to this affair, and have not reflected as " much upon it as is neceſſary I ſhould: I entreat " you to let me ſleep upon it, and to-morrow I will " attend you, and will endeavour to give you the " beſt advice I can: but, if you preſs me now, I " ſhall ſay nothing to the purpoſe; for my judgment is not very clear at preſent." " No, interrupted his majeſty, this is not true; I know you " too well: tell me your thoughts immediately." " It is impoſſible, Sire, ſaid I; and, if you perſiſt " in preſſing me ſo earneſtly, I repeat it again, I " ſhall ſay nothing to the purpoſe: I beſeech you " excuſe me till to-morrow." " Indeed I will not, " ſaid Henry; you muſt ſpeak now: therefore tell " me what I ſhould do." " Nothing at all," Sire, I replied; for I was obliged to ſpeak. " How! nothing? " exclaimed he, this is not advice." " Pardon me, " Sire, reſumed I, it is, and the beſt that you can " follow: there are maladies which require time " rather than remedies, and I believe this to be of " ſuch a nature." " This declamation is unſeaſonable, ſaid Henry with the ſame impatience; I " muſt have reaſons. Are theſe yours?" " I have " no good ones, Sire, anſwered I, if theſe are contrary to your inclinations. In my opinion, however, the affair does not admit of much doubt " about what ſhould be done: it is neceſſary to wait " for further particulars, before any thing is undertaken, that you may fix upon the beſt expedients, and till then, I think, it ought to be " talked of as little as poſſible; nor ſhould it appear of any conſequence to you, or capable of " giving you the leaſt uneaſineſs."

I SUPPORTED this opinion by a reflection which ſeemed to me abſolutely juſt; and this was, that the good or bad reception which the Spaniards would give the prince, depended upon the impreſſion his flight made upon the king; ſo that it was not impoſſible but that they would receive the prince with contempt, to ſpare the expences they would otherways be obliged to, eſpecially if we could make them entertain a ſuſpicion that this flight of the prince of Condé's was a thing concerted between his majeſty and him. "What," ſaid the king ſhaking his head, "would you that I ſhould ſuffer a petty prince, my "neighbour, to give a retreat contrary to my incli-"nations to the firſt prince of my blood, without "ſhowing any reſentment of it? This is fine ad-"vice indeed! I ſhall not follow it; Praſlin ſhall "ſet out *, in a few days, to ſignify my intentions." "I told you, Sire, ſaid I, that not having conſidered "this affair, I ſhould ſay nothing to your ſatis-"faction. Another thought has juſt occurred, "which will not be any prejudice to what you pro-"poſe to do; but I cannot tell it you till two days "hence: however, I am ſure you will be better "ſatisfied with it than my firſt propoſal. His ma-"jeſty conſented to this delay, and, embracing me,

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* "Praſlin actually went; but the archduke made anſwer, that he "had never violated the law of nations on any occaſion whatever; "and that he would, on no conſideration, begin in the caſe of the "firſt prince of the blood-royal of France: and ſoon after ſent the "prince a ſum of money, and an eſcort to conduct him to Bruſſels." Mem. pour l'Hiſtoire de France, anno 1609.

The marſhal de Baſſompierre in his Memoirs ſays, the archduke was ſo much ſtaggered with M. de Praſlin's declaration, that he ſent to deſire the prince would only paſs through his dominions, without making any ſtay in them, though he had before promiſed to receive him; but that afterwards he again changed his reſolution, by the advice of the marquis Spinola, and treated the prince with the higheſt honours. Baſſompierre's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 28.

Father Daniel, in his Hiſtory of France, in 4to. Vol. X. p. 437, has thrown new lights on this incident, from the letters in the library of the Abbé d'Eſtrées, by which it appears, that Henry IV. ſecretly ſent the marquis de Cœuvres to Bruſſels to endeavour to carry off the princeſs of Condé; and that the attempt miſcarried only by the king having diſcovered this deſign to the queen, who immediately diſpatched a courier to inform the marquis Spinola of it; on which the princeſs of Condé was removed into an apartment in the archduke's palace.

" ſaid, return home and go to bed; ſleep till eight " o'clock; for I had rather the council ſhould not " be held to-morrow, and my ordinary affairs be " poſtponed one day, than your health ſhould ſuffer " the ſmalleſt prejudice."

I WAS not deceived in my conjecture that the other propoſal I had to make to his majeſty, concerning the prince's retreat into Flanders, would pleaſe him better than the former. He came to the arſenal three days afterwards to know it. We continued ſhut up an hour in my cloſet; but it is not proper to reveal what paſt there on the ſubject. The king, at parting, ſaid aloud, " Adieu, my friend; ſtay at " home and finiſh my buſineſs: but above all labour " for the ſucceſs of the propoſal you have made " me; for I approve of it much more than the " advice you gave me in my wife's chamber at the " Louvre."

The prince of Condé, thinking it neceſſary to juſtify his late action, ſent a letter ‡ ſome days afterwards to the king. He likewiſe ſent another, at the ſame time, to M. de Thou, much fuller and more circumſtantial, in which, among other things, he inſinuated, that I was the cauſe of his leaving France. "He ought to accuſe his own malice, and "that of many other perſons who adviſed him to "it, ſaid the king, and not you. I deſire you will "write to him, and give him a fair repreſentation "of all that has paſſed; and that you will tell him, "with the reſpect due to his quality, not to his "perſon, the plain truth, and the miſery he will "infallibly expoſe himſelf to, if he does not return "to his duty." "I will go home then, Sire, ſaid I "(for we were then at the conſtable's houſe) and "draw up the heads of my letter, and will bring it "to you." "No, no, replied his majeſty, you "muſt write here; I will make them bring you ink "and paper." "But, Sire, reſumed I, this letter "is of conſequence: it is neceſſary I ſhould reflect "well upon it, and examine it attentively before I "ſend it; for, if I write what will ſatisfy you, I "muſt alſo conſider what ſuits with the prince's "quality and my own, that no perſon, either in "France or elſewhere, nor himſelf, who you ſee "ſeeks for occaſions to accuſe and blame me, may "find any thing there to authoriſe him. I am not "prepared to write ſo ſuddenly." Notwithſtanding all I could alledge in my excuſe, I was obliged to write this letter inſtantly in his majeſty's preſence; and at one end of the table, near which we were ſitting. This letter, tho' writ ſo haſtily, was approved of by the king; and here follow the contents.

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‡ " The prince wrote to the king, that it was with the utmoſt " regret, and in order to preſerve his life and honour only, that he " had retired from the court, and not with any intention ever to " be otherwiſe than his majeſty's humble relation, faithful ſubject, " and ſervant. He adds, I will never engage in any thing contrary " to your majeſty's ſervice, unleſs I am compelled to it; and beg " you will not take it amiſs, if I refuſe to ſee, or receive, any letters " which ſhall be wrote to me from court, by any one whatever, " except thoſe your majeſty may be pleaſed to honour me with." Mem. for the Hiſt. of France, anno 1610. Siri, who gives a very minute account of this retreat of the prince of Condé, in the Mem. recond. Vol. II. p. 82, & ſeq. adds many other particulars to thoſe here mentioned; but the greateſt part of them, in my opinion, deſerve little credit; as where he raſhly aſſerts, on the foundation of popular report, that the only motive that induced Henry IV. to undertake the war againſt the Spaniards, was to oblige them to ſend back the princeſs of Condé; and that finding them, in ſpite of his menaces, perſiſt in refuſing ſo to do, he repented of having puſhed matters ſo far. He adds a reflection on the honour of that princeſs, as if ſhe had been a party concerned in this deſign againſt her huſband, whom ſhe diſliked on account of a natural or acquired infirmity, which would have been ſufficient to annul their marriage: that ſhe was extremely deſirous to return to France: that, during her reſidence at Bruſſels, ſhe continued to receive letters of gallantry from

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from Henry IV. that the prince of Condé was ſo well acquainted with her diſpoſition in regard to him, that he could not conceal his reſentment at it; and that, on his return, he talked publicly of obtaining a divorce from her. The greateſt truth Siri ſpeaks on this ſubject, is, that the king obſtinately rejected all the rational advice given him on this occaſion by the nuncio, ſome of his counſellors, and particularly the duke of Sully, whom he alſo commends for his reſolute and free manner of ſpeaking and writing to the prince of Condé.

I BEGAN with complaining to the prince, that, having believed he had reſpect enough for me not to make me a viſit with any other intention than to aſk my advice, yet he gave me occaſion now to ſuſpect that viſit was only to draw me into the commiſſion of ſome error or imprudence. As to the reſt, he knew better than any one elſe how much in vain he had laid that ſnare for me; and here I related, leſs for him than the public, all that had paſſed in the converſation we had together at the arſenal, which the reader has already ſeen. After this I owned to him, without any diſguiſe, that having, notwithſtanding all his art, penetrated into his deſign, I had informed the king of it, who might have prevented him from executing it, if he had believed me, or been leſs good and indulgent. I made no apologies to the prince for the advice I had given to his majeſty againſt him, ſince it was for the good of the ſtate, for the king's advantage, and for his own, however little he might attend to it. I laid before his eyes the conſequences of the imprudent ſtep he had taken: I aſked him, what he had to expect from the archdukes and the Spaniards, who, conſidering him as an uſeleſs burden upon them, would inſult him by their haughty and inſolent behaviour, and ſecretly applaud themſelves for it? I conjured him to reflect on what he owed to the conſideration of his honour, his virtue, his birth, and duty; and exhorted him to implore the king's pardon as ſoon as poſſible. To theſe intreaties, I added offers of ſervice, which would prove to him my zeal for his intereſt, and attachment to his perſon.

IT will be eaſily granted, that ſuch a letter was very extraordinary from a man who, in the ſuppoſition of having connived at his flight, might have been ſtruck dumb with a ſingle word in anſwer from one of ſo high a rank as firſt prince of the blood. Yet I went farther: I told the prince, that the civilities, praiſes, and acknowledgments, with which he had loaded me at the arſenal, were, to my great regret, but ill repaid by the neceſſity his letter had reduced me to, of declaring the truth in ſuch a manner as perhaps he might think inconſiſtent with the reſpect I owed him: that he ought, in his own mind, to render me the juſtice I deſerved; but that he would now be convinced, that the firſt ſtep any man takes contrary to his duty, by a neceſſary conſequence makes him violate all the laws of ſincerity: laſtly, that whatever his intention might be in thus endeavouring to involve me in his crime, I had always held it my glory and my honour to be thus treated by the enemies of the king and the ſtate; and implored heaven to inſpire the prince with ſuch ſentiments as might efface all remembrance of a fault which had, with too much juſtice, deſerved thoſe two epithets. This letter † was publiſhed; but it produced no anſwer, which entirely deſtroyed, even in the opinions of my enemies themſelves, all ſuſpicions ariſing from the prince's inſinuation.

A DISPUTE aroſe between Villeroi and De-Freſne, on account of the letters ‡ which the king ordered to be ſent into the provinces, two days after the flight of the prince, to ſignify his intentions concerning this event. Villeroi compoſed a form for theſe letters, which he would have had all the other ſecretaries of ſtate to have followed. De-Freſne thought the expreſſions he uſed unworthy of the dignity of him from whom they were ſuppoſed to proceed, which indeed was true: and, as he was generally allowed to write quite as well as his brother ſecretary, he was afraid of ſome cavils by ſending this letter, as written by himſelf to thoſe perſons, with whom, by his office, he was connected. He imparted his perplexity to me, and entreated me to extricate him out of it.

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† "The prince of *,* refuſed to receive the letters the duke of "Sully wrote to him, telling thoſe who brought them, that he "would receive nothing that came from him." L'Etoile, ibid.

‡ In Vol. 9772 of the Royal MSS. we find the ſummons delivered to the prince of Condé at Bruſſels, in the month of February 1610, by Meſſ. de Berny and Manicam, in the king's name, requiring him to return to France, under the penalty of becoming guilty of high treaſon; and the prince's refuſal to obey it. The parliament paſſed an arret againſt him, by which he was condemned to undergo whatever puniſhment his majeſty ſhould think fit to inflict on him. Henry IV. went in perſon to parliament, to ſolicit the paſſing of this arret; and, as a mark of his grief, he went without ſtate or train: he ſat down in the chief preſident's place without canopy or footſtool, the hall being only guarded by the uſhers of the parliament, inſtead of the king's officers.

I HAVE nothing to ſay concerning the affairs of the proteſtant body, except that they ſupported themſelves happily againſt all the calumnies which were invented againſt them, and which they brought even to his majeſty's ear, by advices and diſcourſes of all kinds. A letter was addreſſed to the king, dated the 31ſt of July, ſuppoſed to be written from Rochelle, in a counterfeit hand, and falſly ſigned Emanuel de La-Faye, in which he was informed, that, in an aſſembly held at St. Maixant, the miniſter of Blois, who was called Viguer, had preſented a book, entitled Antichriſt diſplayed †, ſcandalous, it was ſaid, and outrageous to the laſt degree: that, in this aſſembly, it was reſolved the book ſhould be printed, after it had been examined by the academy of Saumur: and that this book was then actually in the preſs, notwithſtanding his majeſty's public prohibition.

This letter ‡ is filled with ſo many minute particulars, and paſſion and prejudice appear every where ſo ſtrongly in it, that the reader will not, I believe, be diſpleaſed at my ſuppreſſing it. The author certainly flattered himſelf, that he ſhould make it be believed that the Rochellers fortified their city, upon a ſuppoſition that they ſhould ſoon have a ſiege to ſuſtain ; and that an aſſembly was held at Marſeilles, to oblige the king to call a convocation of the ſtates of the kingdom. Du-Pleſſis was, as they alledged, the author of theſe plots, all abſolutely without foundation, except indeed ſome murmurs againſt the gabelle in Mirebalais and Loudunois, in which, however, a very ſmall number of proteſtants had any part. With regard to Du-Pleſſis, he was the very man who ſent the firſt information of it to his majeſty ; and I thought myſelf obliged in honour, though my enemy, as till then he had ſhewn himſelf to be, to give teſtimony to his innocence, when I convinced the king, who inſiſted upon my taking a journey into Poitou to repreſs the rebellious deſigns of the proteſtants, that his real enemies endeavoured to keep themſelves concealed by branding thoſe with that guilt who did not deſerve it. Du-Pleſſis thanked me in a long letter, which contained a juſtification, in form, againſt all the heads of the accuſation.

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† The ſupplement to the Journal of Henry IV. printed in 1736, takes notice of this book, and ſays, that father Gonthier, in a ſermon he preached before the king, having made violent invectives, on this account, againſt the huguenots, the king reprimanded him, and ordered the book to be ſuppreſſed, which, in reality, has never appeared ſince. Anno 1609.

‡ It is to be ſeen in Sully's Memoirs, Vol. IV. p. 335.

The following information, which was given me by a gentleman of unqueſtioned honour, appeared to me more circumſtantial, and more worthy of attention. In one of the ſtreets of La-Fleche called Des Quatre Vents, and near an inn, with a ſign of the ſame name, there had lodged, for ſome months, a man, whoſe name was Médor, a native of Avranche, with a widow, called Jane Huberſon, who boarded ſcholars of reputable families, that were under the care of Médor. A niece of this widow's, about twenty-ſix years of age, named Rachael Renaud, who lived with her aunt, and a couſin called Huberſon likewiſe, going one day into Médor's ſtudy, found a book there which excited her curioſity : it was finely gilt, and tied very neatly with blue and carnation ribbons, and very thick. She opened it, and ſaw that half of it was written, partly with ink, and partly with blood: that it was full of ſignatures, almoſt all in blood, among which, ſurpriſed as ſhe was, ſhe diſtinguiſhed that of Médor, of a man named Du-Noyer, who lived in a village in the neighbourhood of Paris, near Villeroi, and of another man named Du-Croſs, from Billon in Auvergne, who had formerly belonged to the duke de Mercœur. Theſe two men ſhe knew, becauſe they had often come to viſit their lodger.

As ſhe was going out of the cloſet, with an intention to carry this book to her aunt, ſhe met Médor, who ſnatching it out of her hands, aſked her, in a rage, what ſhe was going to do with it. She told him ingenuouſly, that it was ſo pretty ſhe was deſirous her aunt ſhould ſee it; and then aſked him the meaning of thoſe ſignatures of blood, which ſhe had ſeen in it. Médor, fearing that ſhe had carried her curioſity ſo far as to examine the writing, at the end of which were thoſe names ſubſcribed, and which contained an aſſociation of conſpirators againſt the king's perſon, told her that it was an oath, which, for the intereſt of their religion, a great many zealous catholics had taken to continue faithfully attached to the Pope. This anſwer did not hinder the girl from ſpeaking of the book to her aunt and couſin, who were the only proteſtants in the houſe. They thought the diſcovery of ſuch conſequence, that, after getting all the information they could from the girl of what ſhe had ſeen, they related it to the perſon who gave me notice of it, with all the circumſtances neceſſary to make a fuller diſcovery ‡.

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‡ Neither L'Etoile, nor the continuator of M. De Thou, nor father Chalôns, nor even D'Aubigné, nor, in ſhort, any of the hiſtorians of thoſe times, the moſt avowed enemies of the jeſuits, excepting Mezerai alone, have ever mentioned, and conſequently never believed any thing of this conſpiracy againſt the king, or this plot for forming a new league; for one cannot tell in which light to conſider this relation, which, being unſupported by evidence, may ſignify whatever one pleaſes, or rather nothing at all. Mezerai himſelf, who is

THE book was immediately taken out of Médor's chamber, and carried, as Huberſon and the girl believed, to Du-Croſs, whoſe direction they gave. He lodged with a man named Druillet, who lived in a houſe without the city, near the gate of St. Germain, on the right ſide. With this Druillet ſeveral children of quality boarded, and particularly of the province of Brittany; becauſe he likewiſe had been in the duke of Mercœur's ſervice. Du-Croſs was the ſoul of this cabal. An aſſembly at the jeſuits college, in which he held one of the chief places, and where he was often employed to deliver public diſcourſes, gave him all the opportunities he could deſire, to aſſociate a great number of perſons into his black deſigns: and here it was that he became acquainted with Médor and Du-Noyer.

To theſe informations were added all thoſe that I was able to get myſelf. The morning after I received the billet, which was on October 19th, I ſent a perſon, on whom I could ſecurely depend, to ſearch the bottom of this affair: but although all his diſcoveries ſerved to confirm what had been

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is of opinion that a new league was intended, whilſt, from the ſame words, the duke of Sully concludes it was to be an attempt on the king's life; Mezerai, I ſay, ſpeaks of it, Abr. chr. & hiſt. in folio, printed at Paris in 1667, Vol. III. p. 1443, in ſuch a manner, that it is evident he only copies Sully's Memoirs. Now as theſe Memoirs, the only ſource of this accuſation, have reſted it on no other foundation than the ſingle evidence of a young girl, and have left it as a mere conjecture only; every man of ſenſe will be cautious in drawing ſo ill-natured a concluſion from hence, as that either the league was intended to be renewed, a mad and chimerical deſign, or the aſſaſſination of Henry IV. intended; the perpetrator of which no where appears to have had any connection at La-Flêche. But ſhould we even allow the reality of this pretended plot, it does not appear the jeſuits were any ways concerned in it; the girl, on whoſe evidence the proof of it reſts, did not alledge any thing againſt them. The love of truth has led me to make this obſervation, becauſe we ſee but too many, whoſe naturally warm imagination, heated to a ſtill greater degree by prejudice and paſſion, want only the leaſt ſhadow of conjecture, or an unguarded expreſſion, to determine their judgment on matters whoſe importance makes ſuch groundleſs determinations ſtill more blameable.

wrote to me, and that the girl herſelf offered to maintain her depoſition before any perſon who ſhould chuſe to hear her, and even in his majeſty's preſence, the credit and artifice of thoſe who were concerned in this accuſation were exerted with ſuch ſucceſs, that an affair, which certainly merited a further examination, was buried in ſilence. Domeſtic diſſenſions, and inteſtine plots, were the two evils which purſued Henry, after he had extricated himſelf from the dangers of war, till the laſt moment of his life. The count of Auvergne continued ſtill impriſoned in the Baſtile: he obtained permiſſion of his majeſty to be removed for a change of air, on account of his indiſpoſition, and he was carried to a pavilion on the water, which was at the end of the gardens belonging to the arſenal; but guards were placed upon him during the whole time he ſtaid there. He alſo obtained leave to ſpeak to the ſieur de Châteaumorand.

Henry's health was this year only interrupted with ſome ſlight fits of the gout. He did not drink the waters, becauſe they were of no uſe to him. M. the dauphin, and all the children of France, enjoyed likewiſe a good ſtate of health. Henry made as long a ſtay as uſual at Fontainebleau: he paſſed the whole autumn there, after a ſhort excurſion to Monceaux, and returned to Paris at the beginning of winter.

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## BOOK XXVII.

ALL that remains for me to ſay of the tranſactions of this year 1609, relates to foreign affairs, which I ſhall begin with thoſe of the United Provinces. The king granted them, in the month of April the ſum of three hundred thouſand livres.

Preaux was ſent to the States with this agreeable news, and I received orders from his majeſty to ſend the money to Dieppe, where it was to be ſhipped on board a veſſel belonging to the Republic. Henry thought himſelf obliged to reward, by this laſt inſtance of his bounty, the reſpect the council of the United Provinces had ſhewn for him, in giving him the principal part in their accommodation with Spain; for in this year was at length concluded the truce ‡, which had been ſo long in agitation, and equally deſired by all, even by thoſe who had at firſt appeared moſt againſt it: and the prince of Orange himſelf at laſt agreed to it.

I SHALL not here tranſcribe the treaty, which was drawn up at the Hague, the uſual place for holding the conferences; but only that of the intervention of the kings of France and England as guarantees for the execution of it. This piece is dated June 27, 1609, and was ſigned as the former, at the Hague, in the preſence of meſſire Peter Jeannin, chevalier, baron of Changy and Montreu, one of the counſellors of his moſt chriſtian majeſty in his council of ſtate, and his ambaſſador extraordinary to the States; and of meſſire Elie de La-Place, chevalier, lord of Ruſſy, viſcount of Machaut, member of the king's council of ſtate, gentleman in ordinary of his bed-chamber, and his ambaſſador in ordinary; both of them in the name, and as having authority from the moſt high, moſt powerful, and moſt excellent prince Henry IV. &c. Afterwards followed the names of his Britannic majeſty's two miniſters, with the ſame titles of ambaſſadors in ordinary and extraordinary; and after them the names of the counſellors and miniſters of the ſeveral provinces of the Low-Countries, with a reciprocal obligation to cauſe the contents of the ſaid treaty to be ratified, within two months, by the reſpective parties.

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‡ It will be proper, as well on the negotiations of this famous truce, as on all the affairs of Flanders mentioned in theſe Memoirs, to conſult the volumes of the king's MSS. marked 9759, 9981, 9005, Le Merc. Franç. Matthieu, Vittorio Siri, and the particular hiſtories of that republic.

The intervention and guarantee are expreſſed in the following manner: That the two kings, notwithſtanding all their endeavours, having been unable to procure a firm and ſolid peace between the two warring powers, had at length propoſed to them a long truce, to which likewiſe many obſtacles were raiſed, which would probably have blaſted the ſcheme, if their majeſties, for the good of the parties, and the ſecurity of their ſtates, had not conſented to have been guarantees and ſecurities for it; and therefore that they promiſed, and engaged themſelves, to aſſiſt the United Provinces with all their forces, not only in caſe of any infraction of the truce by Spain, but alſo if their trade to the Indies ſhould be interrupted, or ſuffer the leaſt injury, either from his catholic majeſty, the archdukes, their officers, or ſubjects. This extended as well to thoſe whom the States thought proper to aſſociate with them in this trade, as to the countries where it was carried on; provided, however, that the republic did not pretend to be judges themſelves of the injuries they received in this reſpect, but left them to the deciſion of their majeſties in a common council, wherein they were to be allowed a vote: in caſe the judgment ſhould be too long delayed, they were to give orders in the mean time for the ſecurity of their ſubjects. That, in conſequence of which, the contracting parties ſhould renew and confirm the private treaties made the preceding year, one on the 23d of January, between France and the United Provinces; and another, on the 26th of June, between England and the ſame Provinces, by applying to the truce the ſame agreements, promiſes, and obligations, which theſe treaties expreſſed during the continuance of a peace, which was then believed ed to be upon the point of concluding. That, in acknowledgment for the guarantee of the two mediating kings, and for the aſſiſtance which the States-General had received from them, they engaged to make no treaty or agreement with the archdukes during the twelve years of the truce, without the advice and conſent of their majeſties, who promiſed, on their ſide, not to enter into any alliance prejudicial to the liberty and ſafety of their friends and allies: for theſe were the titles given by the two princes to the States.

THE archdukes, that they might not give offence to the king of Spain, refuſed their conſent to its being mentioned in the treaty for a truce, that the Dutch ſhould be ſecured in their trade to the Indies: they only undertook, of their own accord, acting under his catholic majeſty, to allow the exerciſe of it: therefore the Republic, who ſought a ſecurity againſt a new breach of faith from the Spaniards, had it, at laſt, made one of the poſitive articles of the treaty for the mediation of the kings of France and England. Henry was not ſorry, ſince the war between Spain and Flanders was to end, it ſhould end in this manner.

I OUGHT not to omit mentioning an obligation, which, on this occaſion, I received, rather indeed from Henry, than the council of the United Provinces, which regarded my nephews D'Epinoy. His majeſty, who had often liſtened to my complaints of the injuſtice which theſe children had ſuffered from the count and counteſs of Ligne, and who, from the time that they were brought to me in France, had given them many proofs of his kindneſs, which I believe I have mentioned ſomewhere or other in theſe Memoirs, was deſirous of doing ſomething more for them. Jeannin ‡ had orders to confer with the archduke Albert upon their affairs, to endeavour to engage him in their intereſt, and to do them juſtice. Either he or Caumartin delivered to this prince a memorial which I had drawn up, and which explained the claims the family of Epinoy had to the ſucceſſion of that of Melun. The archduke's anſwer, which he ſent the king in the year 1601, gave me reaſon to hope for ſucceſs. Accordingly this prince, finding that his majeſty intereſted himſelf in the affair, took ſo much part in it, that by a proviſional agreement my nephew D'Epinoy ‡, who by the death of his brother was the ſole heir, obtained a reſtitution of great part of thoſe effects which had been forfeited by his father. This agreement, which, through the intereſt of the king and the archduke, became a writing of great importance, was afterwards the beſt the princeſs of Ligne § could make uſe of, to prove that all the reſt of this eſtate, which ſhe had not been deprived of, had been granted to her.

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‡ There is a letter in the cabinet of the preſent duke of Sully, from the late duke to the preſident Jeannin, in which, after taking notice of the then preſent ſtate of the affairs of the United Pro-

I THOUGHT of an expedient to put an end to theſe evaſions and artifices, which was to obtain the conſent of the council of the United-Provinces to inſert, in their treaty of truce, an article by which this queſtion was decided in favour of the young D'Epinoy. My requeſt, which I made privately, was granted with great willingneſs; the article was inſerted, and expreſſed that upon the refuſal, which the princeſs of Ligne had given to the council of the United-Provinces, to make a reſtitution of the eſtates of the houſe of Epinoy, which ſhe unjuſtly enjoyed,

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vinces, and theſe of Cleves, he recommends the intereſt of his nephew, the prince of Epinoy, to him. This letter is too long to be here tranſcribed: it is dated at Fontainebleau, the 15th of June, 1609.

‡ William de Melun, prince of Epinoy, &c. He had many other brothers, who either died young or without iſſue. He has been ſpoke of before.

§ Mary de Melun, lady of Roubais, D'Antoing, &c. wife of Lamoral, the firſt prince of Ligne, governor of Artois, knight of the golden fleece.

two arbitrators ſhould be named for his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, and two for the archdukes, who ſhould meet at Vervins to give a definitive judgment: that, if the votes were divided, they ſhould appoint an umpire; and, if they could not agree upon the choice, his moſt Chriſtian majeſty ſhould be this umpire, to whoſe ſentence the princeſs of Ligne and all the other reſpective heirs ſhould ſubmit; and the archdukes, of whom theſe eſtates were held, ſhould permit the execution of it: and that, in the mean time, the eſtates of the houſe of Vaſſenard, and all others belonging to the prince of Epinoy, within the extent of the Dutch provinces, ſhould be reſtored to him.

The princeſs of Ligne uſed her utmoſt endeavours to elude the deciſion. This laſt clauſe depriving her of all hope, ſhe appealed to the agreement before mentioned. She alledged, that part of thoſe eſtates which were required of her, being in the province of Holland, had been charged with heavy taxes; for which ſhe demanded compenſation. When ſhe found herſelf preſſed, ſhe affected to abate of her obſtinacy, and only requeſted that the affair might be terminated by any other method than a rigorous judgment, and propoſed ſeveral herſelf, eſpecially when ſhe perceived that her nephew was inclined to purchaſe an agreement with her by the ſacrifice of ſome of his juſt claims. The archduke ſeemed to enter with her into all the expedients that could be thought on to make me deſiſt; for I was the perſon whom, on this occaſion, they looked upon to be the real adverſary. A marriage was propoſed between my nephew and the princeſs of Ligne's ſecond daughter. This expedient was happily enough imagined, if the mother had been a reaſonable woman: but ſhe would not give this daughter a portion equal to that which ſhe had given with the eldeſt. I left it to her choice, either to reſign twenty-five thouſand livres a year to D'Epinoy, as a portion for her daughter, or to make him a reſtitution of his whole eſtate, though my nephew by this offer loſt conſiderably: yet it was rejected with diſdain. The remainder of the year was paſſed in making and refuſing propoſitions, which all amounted to nothing.

THERE was again a neceſſity that his majeſty ſhould interpoſe, which he had the goodneſs to do, by writing a letter, dated October 19, to the archduke, in which he complained of the princeſs of Ligne's proceedings, and of the little ſolicitude he himſelf ſhewed for the fulfilling that article of the treaty relating to the prince of Epinoy. As to the agreement which madame de Ligne laid ſuch ſtreſs upon, the king obſerved, that, beſides that nothing can be oppoſed to a determination recorded in a treaty made between ſovereigns, it was the opinion of his council, and conformable to the laws of his kingdom, that the authority of any prince which is added to a contract, ſhould not hinder the ſubject who is injured by it from claiming his right. He deſired him to hear what † Berny and ‡ Préaux had to ſay, whom he had ordered to acquaint him with every circumſtance of the affair; and, repeating his inſtances in favour of Epinoy, he declared that he would anſwer for the fidelity and obedience of his new vaſſal. He owned that D'Epinoy was willing to purchaſe an agreement and union with his aunt, at the expence of a ſmall part of his eſtate; but that himſelf had been one of the firſt to adviſe him not to liſten to her while ſhe continued to be ſo unreaſonable in her demands. This letter was more in the ſtyle of a friend than a king; and in almoſt all thoſe which Villeroi and Jeannin wrote by his order to the States, the affair of Epinoy was mentioned with great warmth. I likewiſe urged it on in the letters I writ to Préaux, from whom, upon this occaſion, I receiv-ed ſervices which I promiſed him ſhould not go unrewarded.

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† Matthew Brulart, lord of Berny, the king's preſident at the court of the archduke.

‡ Hector de Préaux, a calviniſt gentleman, governor of Châtelleraut.

This year the duke of Bouillon obtained letters of naturalization for his children born at Sedan. The king did not obſerve, that in theſe letters, and in the petition preſented on this occaſion to the chamber of accounts, Bouillon had aſſumed the title of ſovereign of Sedan; and therefore made no oppoſition to it by his attorney-general. But his majeſty repaired this failure, by ordering Jerôme L'Huillier, the attorney-general, to demand an act, by which it was allowed, that his compliance with this petition, and his ſilence with reſpect to the titles there aſſumed, ſhould not injure his rights if he ſhould be able, at any time, by his papers, claims, or records of the treaſury of archives, to make appear that Sedan was anciently a fief depending on that of Mouſon, which was part of the crown lands. This act, of the 11th of April, is inſerted in the regiſters of the chamber of accounts.

His majeſty ſent the duke of Lunebourg-Brunſwick's deputy to me for the payment of ſeven thouſand crowns, which the king ordered me to give him, without making farther enquiry into, as the ſum was ſo moderate. I obeyed his commands, and, at the ſame time, treated him with the utmoſt degree of politeneſs. Henry, by ſuch inſtances of kindneſs and reſpect, endeavoured to attach the German princes ſtill more to his intereſt. I likewiſe rendered ſome ſervices to the duke of Savoy, which produced a letter from this prince to me, and a viſit of thanks from M. de Jacop his ambaſſador. This deference, added to the viſits I was obſerved to pay to the duke of Savoy's ambaſſador in return, appeared to my enemies at court a ſufficient foundation for ſuggeſting to the king, that the duke of Savoy made the ſame uſe of me as he had done of marechal Biron. Henry took care not to tell them that he was acquainted with all my proceedings, and approved of them;

them; but thanked them for their information, and wrote me an account of all they had ſaid, deſiring me, at the ſame time, to bring him the laſt letters I had received from Turin the next time I attended him.

ANOTHER attempt was made upon the city of Geneva this year, under the direction of Du-Terrail [‡], the ſame who has been ſo often mentioned in theſe Memoirs. He ſucceeded ſo ill in it, that he was taken priſoner there, and without any form of trial put to death. He was a man of great underſtanding and courage; but giddy with ambition, and abſorbed in vice: therefore the king was not concerned that juſtice had overtaken him. As ſoon as it was known that he was impriſoned, the king was wearied with ſolicitations in his favour: but the news of his death followed that of his detention ſo cloſe, that he was not long embarraſſed. "We "have a happy riddance of him, ſaid this prince to "me; he was a dangerous man: ever ſince I obſerved that he had left off viſiting you, and haunting you as uſual; and after that murder [†] he "committed in the view of us both, as we ſtood "together upon the balcony, I loſt all hope of "him."

THE duke of Florence, after the death of the duke his father ||, having ſent an ambaſſador extraordinary to Rome to pay his obedience to the pope, he, either by his maſter's orders, or from his own inclination, or perhaps through contempt, viſited the Spaniſh ambaſſador before ours. Henry, when he was informed of this affront, reſolved to take vengeance for it, and began by revoking an order, which, upon the repreſentations made him by the chevalier Guidi, he had given for the payment of a hundred thouſand livres, which were ſtill due to the grand duke. Jouanini, this prince's agent, who foreſaw all the conſequences of this affair, aſſembled his friends and partiſans to conſult together upon the methods they ſhould uſe to prevent the reparation we had a right to exact, from extending to any inſult upon Spain; and as I was thought to be him, who of all the counſellors was moſt capable of inſpiring the king with a firm reſolution on this head, they agreed that it would be proper for Jouanini to apply to me, and endeavour to ſoften me.

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[‡] Lewis de Combourſier, lord of Terrail, a gentleman of Dauphiny, and a relation of Leſdiguieres. The Memoirs for the hiſtory of France ſpeak of him as Sully's do. "The king, ſay they, whoſe na-"tural ſubject he was, had granted him four ſeveral pardons; but he "had no ſooner got a pardon in one pocket, as the king ſaid, but he "had a ſcheme for a plot ready in another."---The pardon the king would have granted him would not have ſaved his life. He and La-Baſtide, a gentleman of Bourdel, who was taken with him, were beheaded at Geneva on the 29th of April.

[†] "On Tueſday the 8th of Auguſt, Le-Terrail, in the king's "ſight, before the windows of the gallery of the Louvre, killed "Mazancy, a brave Gaſcon officer, whom his majeſty had juſt been "ſpeaking to. The king was ſo much affected with ſeeing this ac-"tion, that he was obliged, as it was ſaid, to change his ſhirt twice "upon it." Mem. for the Hiſt. of France, anno 1606.

Du-Terrail was obliged to leave the kingdom after this aſſaſſination.

I READILY complied with his entreaties, not to ſpeak or act upon this occaſion any otherways than merely to execute the king's orders. There was no neceſſity for urging Henry to ſupport his juſt claims, and this Jouanini knew as well as myſelf. I told him, however, that I was much ſurpriſed that a petty prince, ſuch as his maſter, ſhould preſume to regu-

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|| Ferdinand de Médicis, grand duke of Tuſcany, who, in 1587, ſucceeded his brother Francis Maria de Médicis, died the year before. "The king," ſays L'Etoile, or the author of the Supplement to his Journal, "in order to acquaint the queen with his death, without "ſurpriſing her, told her, as he was getting up, he had dreamed "he ſaw the grand duke dead. The queen at firſt was ſtruck with "it; but recollecting herſelf, ſhe ſaid it was only a dream. But, "Madam, replied the king, I am afraid my dream is true; we are "all mortal. He is dead then? Yes, added the king; here is the "letter that informs me of his death."---This death occaſioned a ſuſpenſion of the uſual diverſion of the carnival, &c. It was this Ferdinand who made anſwer to our ambaſſador, when remonſtrating to him on account of his connections with Spain; "Had the king "had forty galleys at Marſeilles, I would not have done what I have." Coſmo II. de Médicis his ſon, is the perſon here in queſtion.

late the rank of the kings of France and Spain. Jouanini received theſe words as any other ambaſſadour would have done upon the like occaſion, and, to ſhew me that I ought to treat his maſter with more reſpect, he entered into a diſcourſe upon his great qualities and his genealogy, making him allied to the houſe of Auſtria, whoſe eulogium he was going to begin. I interrupted him, ſaying, that every other perſon was as capable as himſelf of ſettling the true degree of grandeur of the duke of Florence, ſince it had commenced in our own times; and as for what regarded the houſe of Auſtria, I had no occaſion for any informations; I who reckoned amongſt my anceſtors a daughter of that houſe †, who died a hundred and fifty years ago; but that it was impoſſible to make any compariſon between that family and the auguſt houſe of France.

THIS affair gave riſe to much artful management at court, in which the queen ſeemed to carry too far her tenderneſs for her relations. The king reproached her ſeveral times for it with ſome ſeverity, and ſhe made me ſenſible that ſhe accuſed no other than myſelf for it. However, this affair produced no worſe conſequences. The duke of Florence, upon the firſt complaint the king made to him, proteſted that he had no part in this imprudent procedure of his ambaſſador, and declared that he was willing to make any reparation for it which his majeſty ſhould require. He recalled his ambaſſador, without waiting for the king's requeſt, and commanded him, before his departure, to make an authentic acknowledgment of the fault he had committed, which was publiſhed in Rome and in France. Henry was ſatisfied with this apology, and, to convince the grand duke that he had forgot every thing, he aſſured him that he would preſerve the ſame ſentiments of friendſhip and eſteem for him as for the deceaſed duke, and gave him the firſt proof of them by ſending to congratulate him upon his advancement to the throne, as all the other princes of Europe had done.

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† John de Béthune, Lord of Vandeuil, Locres, &c. firſt of that branch from which the duke of Sully was deſcended, married Jane de Coucy, allied to the houſe of Auſtria. Enguerrand VI. of Couſay, or, to ſpeak more properly, of Guiennes, bearing the name and arms of the houſe of Coucy, which was extinct, married Catherine of Auſtria, daughter of Leopold, who is the lady here meant by M. de Sully, He would have ſpoke more correctly had he ſaid ſhe came into the family of Coucy, to which his became allied. He has alſo made another miſtake in point of chronology; for inſtead of ſaying a hundred and fifty, he ſhould have ſaid two hundred and fifty years; this Enguerrand de Coucy, the huſband of Catherine of Auſtria, having been killed at the battle of Crecy, in 1346. See the MSS. of S. Marthe, Du-Cheſne, Anſelme, and other genealogiſts. See alſo our foregoing remarks on the houſe of Auſtria.

Spain had choſen cardinal Zapata to perform this ceremony, and Henry thought proper to make uſe of a cardinal likewiſe, that he might avoid an affront like the former: for it is well known what perſonal prerogatives cardinals enjoy at the courts of Italian princes. I named the abbe de La-Rochefoucault to him, who was going to Rome to take poſſeſſion of that dignity; but his majeſty for that very reaſon did not approve of him, as he was apprehenſive that this abbe, who they were ſenſible was not yet named a cardinal, nor would leave France expreſsly for this embaſſy, would not be as well received at Florence as an antient cardinal: therefore cardinal Delfin was pitched upon by his majeſty, who gave him two thouſand crowns for his expences, his eminence not being very rich. Conchini had aſpired to this honour, and would have obtained it through the queen's intereſt; but for the conſiderations before mentioned, he would not have acquitted himſelf of this commiſſion at ſo ſmall an expence: Henry, therefore, was pleaſed at his diſappointment, as well on account of his hatred of the man, as from a principle of frugality.

Policy, and the intereſts of his great deſigns, had perhaps more part in the king's complaiſance to the duke of Florence, than the conſideration of his alliance with him. Thoſe two motives were ſufficient to prevent him from ill treating, or even neglecting the moſt inconſiderable prince. The hundred thouſand livres was again ordered to be paid to the chevalier Guidi, the king only requiring that, in the grand duke's receipts, ſome conſiderable ſums ſhould be deducted, which he had advanced to Don John de Medicis. With this money, Guidi carried to Florence a gold chain, valued at ſix hundred crowns, which I preſented him with in his majeſty's name. Henry, likewiſe, ſhewed many other civilities to this Italian; for, whether he remained beyond the Alps, or was again ſent to France by his maſter, the king thought it neceſſary to gain his friendſhip.

De Refuge continued ſtill among the Swiſs and Griſons in the quality of our agent; but executed this employment ſo ill, that I thought myſelf obliged to reproach him by Villeroi for his inattention to the buſineſs he was ſent to tranſact. He durſt not anſwer me himſelf; but to Villeroi he excuſed his neglect, in not ſending the account of the diſtribution he had made of the money, which was the firſt complaint I had againſt him, by alledging that theſe accounts ſhould have been ſent to me by the two clerks, through whoſe hands the two former diſtributions had paſſed, beſides thoſe more particular ones, which the treaſurers of the League were to furniſh me with; and that I ſhould certainly receive from them thoſe of the next diſtribution. With regard to the redemption of debts, which was my ſecond charge againſt him, he, without coming to particulars, told Villeroi, in his anſwer, that he had diſcharged ſome at different times; nor did he give more ſatisfactory replies to the other reprimands he received.

After Villeroi had ſhewn me his letter, I wrote to him myſelf, as I believed the place I filled gave me a right, and even obliged me to do. I told him, that I had not received the four accounts from the clerks he mentioned to Villeroi; but that, if I had ſuch accounts were not ſufficient; but that, ſince the ordinances for payment came only from him, it belonged to him likewiſe to draw up accounts, wherein in every ſum of money ſhould be ſpecified ſeparately, and authenticated by him: that he was obliged to anſwer for the exactneſs of the treaſurers, and to inform me if they had any blanks in their accounts, which was what was always done by Caumartin, his predeceſſor: and, likewiſe, that he ſhould not fail to ſend me, every quarter, the accounts of the receipts given by the treaſurers of the Leagues, with that of the diſtribution he had made, divided into chapters. He was continually propoſing new methods for diſcharging of debts, for managing his majeſty's money, and for confining his employment ſolely to the finances, in conſequence of which he demanded an exact correſpondence with the ſuperintendant. It was not poſſible for him to find an excuſe for the ſilence he affected with me; nor were his excuſes for having not paid any debts during his adminiſtration any better. The thing was not more difficult for him, than the perſon whom he had ſucceeded. I deſired him, therefore, to ſatisfy me as ſoon as poſſible, not by uſing many words and juſtifications, that had no force, and which, in affairs relating to money, could not be received, but by juſt reaſons and good effects; otherways I could not diſpenſe with myſelf from repreſenting him to his majeſty as a man unworthy of the truſt he had confided to him.

It was ſuggeſted to the grand ſignior to have a reſident at Marſeilles for the conveniency of the Granadines who paſſed through that city. The grand vizier mentioned it, by his order, to our ambaſſador at the Porte, and conſulted the aga of Cairo, named Aga Ibrahim-Muſtapha, upon this eſtabliſhment, a man who, in a very ſhort ſpace of time, had acquired great authority, and many dignities at the Porte, and mentioned me to him as the only perſon at the court of France to whom it would be proper to addreſs himſelf. The Aga Muſtapha was directed to aſk this favour of the king, in the name of Sultan Achmet, by a letter, to which was added one from

Salignac to me, and both were brought by a Granadine, whom the grand vizier choſe for this employment. Salignac gave me information of all that had paſſed at the Porte upon this ſubject; and added, that the grand ſignior would think himſelf highly obliged to the king for the grant of this favour, which could be productive of no inconvenience to him; and that he could not diſpoſe of the place to any one more fit for it than the bearer, whoſe probity and good ſenſe were well known to him, and who had formerly paſſed ſome time at Marſeilles.

One of the moſt remarkable and intereſting events that happened this year in Europe, was the death of the duke of Cleves, who died about the beginning of it; the news of which no ſooner reached the ears of Henry, than he came to the arſenal, where, having barely enquired for me in the firſt court, he paſſed on to the garden, without entering my apartment. When he was anſwered, that I was writing in my cabinet, he turned to Roquelaure and Zamet, and ſaid to them, ſmiling, "Did not you imagine, "that they were going to tell me, that he was either hunting, dreſſing, or with the ladies? Go, 'Zamet," ſaid this prince, after having given ſuch praiſe to my diligence as does not become me to repeat, "go, tell him that I am gone up the grêat "walk, and deſire him to follow me immediately "to the large balcony, where we are not wont to "be ſilent; I have much to ſay to him: for I have "heard," continued his majeſty openly, "that the "dukes of Cleves is dead; he has left all the world "his heirs; the emperor and all the princes of "Germany claiming the ſucceſſion." Zamet met me coming out of my cloſet, having been already told that the king had paſſed by. The news of the day, and every conſequential incident, afforded matter for above an hour's entertainment in the balcony. His majeſty thought it a ſubject well worth my pains to compoſe, upon what I had to ſay on this head, a memoir, which I ſhall here inſert, with the addition of ſuch informations as I received a few days after from Bongars, who, at that time, had a particular charge to be ſtrictly watchful of our intereſt in Germany. I ſhewed it all to Henry; nor do I believe the reader will be diſpleaſed to find an event which all Europe, attentive to his majeſty's deſigns, looked upon as a ſignal of a general war, treated with that perſpicuity it deſerves, both with reſpect to its juſtice and expediency.

But it is firſt neceſſary to explain how this little ſtate, made at the laſt duke's death out of four or five great fiefs, all having the titles of principality, was formed. A count of Juliers, who lived about the year 1130, united this county to that of Berg, by marrying an only daughter of a count of that name. The county of Gueldres was afterwards united to it in the year 1350, by the marriage of Reynold, or Renould, firſt duke of Gueldres, with the heireſs of William, firſt duke of Juliers. About the ſame time, one Adolphus de La-Mark reſigned the archbiſhopric of Cologne, and the biſhopric of Munſter, to ſupport his pretenſions, as heir of Mary his mother, counteſs of Cleves, againſt his couſins, D'Erkel and Perweis, who were alſo ſons of Cleves, but on the female ſide; and ſucceeded in his claims, either by purchaſing the right of the ſecond ſon, who was nearer of kin by one degree than him, or by the aſſiſtance of the emperor Charles IV. and the ſtates of the country.

The duchy of Cleves having thus paſſed into the houſe of La-Mark, thoſe of Juliers and Berg were afterwards re-united to it in the perſon of John duke of Cleves, count de La-Mark, who, in 1496, married the daughter of William duke of Juliers and Berg. The duchy of Gueldres was at that time diſmembered, becauſe that Arnold D'Egmont, who poſſeſſed it in right of his mother, Mary D'Erkel, daughter to N---- D'Erkel and Jane of Juliers and Gueldres, had ſold it, in 1472, to Charles of Burgundy, with whoſe daughter it went to the houſe of Auſtria; a diſpoſition that was vainly conteſted by William of Juliers, to whom it was left by will by Charles D'Egmont, grandſon of Arnold, the houſe of Auſtria maintaining itſelf in poſſeſſion of the duchy by force of arms. This cuſtom of feminine fiefs, received in all the cantons, ſupports the opinions of thoſe who believe that the ſeventeen provinces of the Low Countries, which fell into the houſe of Auſtria, by the marriage of Mary of Burgundy with Maximilian, are not the only female fiefs.

The emperor would not allow that Cleves, Juliers, Berg, La-Mark, Ravenſburg, and Raveſtein, of which John-William died poſſeſſed, were female fiefs; on the contrary, the claims, which he pretended to theſe fiefs, were founded only upon proofs, which he was ſaid to have had, of their being all maſculine fiefs. This conteſt was not a point abſolutely new. The contradiction of the diſpoſitions of the different ſovereigns of this little territory, which at different times had been received by their ſubjects, to the declaration of ſome of the emperors upon this head, had long made it a diſputed point, the entire deciſion of which had been by both parties referred to the death of the laſt male heir of that houſe, which at length happened. To canvaſs this point of right more properly, it is neceſſary to ſearch into the archives of that principality, by which means we ſhall be acquainted with the ſtate of the laſt duke duke's family, and find out with what truth Henry ſaid, that the duke of Cleves's ſucceſſion belonged to almoſt all Germany.

The arguments urged in this affair, by the intereſted princes againſt the emperor, were drawn from the many teſtamentary and matrimonial papers, as well as ſeveral other writings, both public and private, which received their authority from the ſolemn acceptation of the ſtates of the country, the chief of which were theſe: Firſt, an ordinance of Adolphus the firſt duke of Cleves, count de La-Mark, &c. received in all his towns, anno 1418, whereby the principality was given to the duke's eldeſt ſon, and to him only, his brothers being excluded from any ſhare in it; and, in default of male iſſue in him, to his eldeſt daughter, excluſive of other daughters. There was a like edict of William duke of Juliers and Berg, count de Ravenſburg, John duke of Cleves, count de La-Mark, in 1496, on account of the union of their territories, by the marriage of Mary, only daughter of the firſt of theſe princes, with John ſon of the ſecond. There was another ordinance of the ſaid John of Cleves, and Mary of Juliers, in 1526, about which time there was a marriage between their eldeſt daughter Sibylla to John Frederic, count, and ſince elector of Saxony, to which diſpoſition William himſelf, ſon of John and Mary, ſubſcribed in 1542. In the year 1572, William duke of Juliers and Cleves, † &c. father of the laſt duke, accompliſhed a match between his eldeſt daughter Maria Eleonora and Albert Frederic of Brandenburgh, duke of Pruſſia; and he, in the marriage articles, reſerved the entire ſucceſſion to her in the ſame form, in caſe of the extinction of the male line in his family. Two years after, Ann, ſiſter of Maria Eleonora, eſpouſed duke Philip Lewis, the count Palatine at Newburg, with the ſame reſpect to the rights of elderſhip in the female line. The contract was concluded at Deux-ponts, and ſigned by the count Lewis, afterwards elector palatine, by William, landgrave of Heſſe, and duke John, count palatine. The ſame contract was ratified a ſecond time in 1575, by the ſame prince William; at which time, duke Philip Lewis complaining that two hundred thouſand florins, which was the portion of the younger ſiſters, was too ſlight a recompence for renouncing ſuch a ſucceſſion, his kinſman, the duke of Cleves, inſiſted upon an augmentation of one hundred thouſand for each of them, on which condition Ann of Juliers made a ſolemn renunciation of it the ſame year. Duke John count Palatine, de Deux-ponts, about four years afterwards married Magdalen, the third daughter of William of Juliers, making the ſame renunciation in favour of the eldeſt of his three ſiſters as duke Philip Lewis, his eldeſt brother, had done: Lewis, elector palatine, William, landgrave of Heſſe, Philip Lewis, count Palatine of Newburg, alſo agreed thereto. This was the fourth renunciation of the duke of Newburg. Laſtly, Sibylla, the fourth of theſe princeſſes, married Charles of Auſtria, marquis of Burgaw; upon which occaſion it was natural to ſuppoſe, that the prince their brother would not have forgot to inſiſt upon the Auſtrian prince's making the ſame renunciation with his other three brothers-in-law: nevertheleſs, partly it appeared, that becauſe this prince †, who had no children, was become a valetudinarian; partly, that the portion money was not ready; and, laſtly, becauſe the government was managed very ſtrangely; the duke of Cleves died, before his fourth brother-in-law had made the ſame renunciation as the reſt. Such were the rights of the four princes, the duke of Brandenburgh and Pruſſia, the count Palatine of Newburg, the count Palatine de Deux-ponts, and the marquis of Burgaw.

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† He died in 1592.

The emperor alledged the following examples in his favour: In the year 1483, imagining the duchies of Juliers and Berg were, by the death of duke William, fallen to the empire, he beſtowed them, by his own abſolute will, on Albert duke of Saxony, to reward him for his ſervices. Maximilian, the firſt ſon

† He died at the age of forty-ſeven.

of Frederic, ratified and extended this donation to the perſon of Erneſt, elector of Saxony, brother of Albert, in the year 1486. He confirmed it again in 1495, as at that time he ſtood in need of the princes of Saxony: but this conſideration no longer ſubſiſting, in the year 1508, the emperor left William of Juliers at liberty to diſpoſe of his own eſtate, either to Mary, or ſuch other of his daughters as he liked beſt. William dying in the year 1511, the elector of Saxony intended to take advantage of the emperor's donation, and deprive the duke of Cleves, who had married the heireſs of it, of Juliers: but when he endeavoured to fix Maximilian on his ſide, that emperor, who feared nothing ſo much as the duke of Cleves, throwing himſelf into the arms of France, refuſed to interfere, and adviſed the elector to patience, giving him only general promiſes that he ſhould loſe nothing thereby. Moreover, when John Frederic, elector of Saxony, married Sibylla, daughter of John duke of Cleves and Juliers, in the year 1526, Charles V. expreſsly confirmed the right of that princeſs, and acted in purſuance thereof: for when in 1546, he made peace with duke William of Juliers, whom he had vanquiſhed, on condition, that the duke ſhould marry Mary of Auſtria, daughter of Ferdinand, king of the Romans and Hungary, he allowed in the marriage contract of this princeſs, who was his niece, that her daughter ſhould ſucceed to the duchies of Juliers, &c. in caſe ſhe ſhould have no ſons; which was alſo admitted after him by Maximilian II. in 1566. It is true that the reigning emperor, though ſtrongly ſolicited, in 1602, by the duke of Newburg, to confirm that conſtitution of his predeceſſors, conſtantly refuſed it; and the only reaſon he gave for ſuch refuſal was, that he could not pretend to prejudice any perſon's right.

After this, the reader will eaſily diſcern a very diſtinguiſhing difference between the juſtice of the pretenſions of the two parties, much to the advantage of the lawful heir, but very unfavourable to the Auſtrians; the former grounded their claim on a ſeries of regulations unanimouſly and uniformly received; the latter only producing grants of pure power, which do little honour to the Aulic council, and moreover, by their variation and contradiction, ſo unſtable as ſcarcely to found any right.

However, the duke of Cleves was no ſooner dead, than each party began to think ſeriouſly of maintaining its rights. The emperor Rodolphus gave the inveſtiture of Juliers and Cleves to the archduke Leopold of Auſtria, a ſtep he would not have taken, had it not been to be beforehand with his moſt Chriſtian majeſty. This ſtep was made in the name of Leopold, who declared by deputy to the king, that his intention in entering upon Cleves, was neither to do any thing that could be in the leaſt prejudicial to his majeſty's intereſt, nor yet to treat the princes, his competitors, with rigour; that he ſhould be contented, provided they behaved to his imperial majeſty as they ought upon this occaſion, and entreated the king not to enter into a diſcuſſion of an affair in which he himſelf was alone concerned with them.

Henry's anſwer to this deputy was in very general terms. He was ſurpriſed, that all this time he had heard nothing of the other princes, who ought to have been the firſt to addreſs him; nor was he leſs ſo at the information received from Hottoman, that none of them thought of levying troops, as if they could hope to obtain any thing otherwiſe than by force of arms; but they ſoon ſaw what part they had to take: and if it was true that his majeſty, in ſlightly reproaching them for their ſilence, took the firſt ſtep, they followed it ſo well, that, having invited Boiſſiſe, Bongars, and the king's other agents to their council, they appointed an ambaſſador to entreat his majeſty, in their name, to ſupport them againſt the archduke, or rather againſt the emperor, which ambaſſador had good reaſon to be ſatisfied with the ſucceſs of his commiſſion. But, before we give a detail of enſuing facts, let us make ſome reflections upon the real political intereſt of France at this juncture.

These ſix cantons or ſmall provinces, Cleves, Juliers, Berg, La-Mark, Ravenſburg, and Raveſtein, were ſo far from being indifferent to France, that ſhe was rather intereſted in them in a very peculiar manner, for ſeveral reaſons, of which their ſtrength and riches were not the leaſt. They lay upon our frontiers; the competitors for them were not only near, but formidable neighbours; at leaſt the emperor was ſo. This was reaſon ſufficient not to let them fall into every hand. The war, raiſed for their poſſeſſion, may become general throughout Europe, conſequently reach us againſt our will. This would certainly be the caſe, were the United-Provinces, whom they particularly and neceſſarily influence, only concerned; their connexion being ſo evident, that giving theſe diſputed provinces to our friends, is, as it were, taking all Flanders from our enemies; as, on the contrary, leaving them open to the invaſion of the houſe of Auſtria, were to expoſe the whole United-Provinces to deſtruction: for I know not how otherways to call the neceſſity to which they would be reduced, had they none but enemies for their neighbours, whoſe favour they muſt court by repeated ſacrifices, which muſt terminate abſolutely in their ruin. The truth of this was never more fully proved than from the diſadvantages under which the States laboured, when the duke of Cleves, even but privately, ſupported the Spaniards. Is it prudent to ſuffer ſo uſeful and ſo expenſive a work to be deſtroyed, when about to be completed? and let me add with ſincerity, a work which, in ſpite of all our efforts, has, by the laſt treaty between Spain and the States, been not a little ſhocked.

If from this point of view we paſs to his moſt Chriſtian majeſty's vaſt deſigns upon all Europe, what better means is there of engaging in them thoſe powers, who could not be otherwiſe reconciled to them? This is the ſureſt way of attaching to us all the princes of the empire, of reſtoring the liberty and dignity of the Germanic body, giving a mortal blow to the imperial authority, and ſtriking the whole houſe of Auſtria with conſternation: and this advantage, which France, for her own private intereſt, ought at any rate to have purchaſed, ſhe ſhall enjoy, as the effect of diſintereſted generoſity towards perſecuted princes, without either jealouſy or envy.

To this it may be objected, that theſe princes have hitherto ſhewn themſelves very averſe to entertaining theſe notions of us, if we may judge from their evident unwillingneſs to be obliged to us, even when forced to allow that, without our aſſiſtance, they can do nothing: but after all, this is no more than what unavoidably happens in the beginning of a difficult complicated affair, wherein many perſons are concerned; for, in ſuch ſchemes, their firſt conſideration is to weigh their intereſt with their powers. Even when we know what is to be done, we are not agreed with reſpect to the manner of doing it; eſpecially in confederacies, where opinions multiply in proportion to the number of parties concerned: beſides, I inſiſt, that this irreſolution of the German princes, from whatever motives it proceeds, ought not to prevent his majeſty from taking part with them. I lay it down as a maxim, that in all important affairs, which tend to the general good, it is to the cauſe only, and not to the perſons we muſt be attached; for the former preſents but one ſingle view, and that always the ſame; whereas the latter is ſo ſubject to change, and preſents ſuch a variety of hateful objects, that, cloſely to conſider them, would give us a diſinclination to the moſt uſeful and neceſſary enterpriſes. Politically ſpeaking, we ought always to be content with having removed obſtacles, without being deterred from proceeding, by any difficulties that may remain, and time of itſelf will remove: but with this reſtriction, that I ſpeak of deſigns whereof the contrivers need not be aſhamed; ſuch as was ours in ſupporting the heir to the duke of Cleves, and ſettling the ballance of Europe. We have then only to begin; each moment will furniſh us with freſh reſources: the princes now ſo backward and irreſolute, will acquire courage from time and the fluſh of ſucceſs; and the ardour of war will inſpire them with thoſe ſentiments of our generoſity, which they are to be condemned for not having at firſt entertained.

Behold a motive in favour of thoſe who, tho' they approve of our generoſity, yet are reduced perhaps to wiſh that it may not be merely gratuitous on our ſide. Whatever ſucceſs our arms may have in conjunction with thoſe princes who form pretenſions on the ſucceſſion of Cleves, yet ſtill theſe princes have certain fears that, one day or other, they ſhall be diveſted of all their poſſeſſions by the emperor, whenever the ſituation of things comes to change. Is it a raſh concluſion to imagine, that this fear, joined to the reflections they made, on the difficulty of preſerving provinces divided amongſt them into ſo many fragments, ſo little conducive to their reſpective utility, ſo deſirably tempting to their enemies, eſpecially to a king of France of an enterpriſing nature, ſhould not induce them, one day or other, to enter into an accommodation with his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, whether they received the value of theſe territories in ready money, or in ſome equivalent in tracts of land, for example, in the heart of France, as in Berry, Bourbon, Marche, and Auvergne? Now, ſuppoſing this to happen, what advantages muſt accrue to France in this double connection of intereſt and dependency, which will unite part of

Germany with her for ever? And what cannot be denied, is, that the preſent ſuccours, which his majeſty ſhall grant to theſe princes, will be a pledge to them to demand them for the future, in order to preſerve themſelves in their new acquiſitions, a requeſt which the king can pay on demand. Many people may think, that what I have been ſaying, is purely chimerical; and perhaps I may ſurpriſe ſeveral, by informing them, that the thing, far from being abſolutely impoſſible, as it has been imagined, had been long in agitation by third perſons; and that on the day it produced itſelf, by the concurrence of cauſes ſo favourable, was on the point of being propoſed to the princes concerned, and might very probably have been accepted by them.

But to leave theſe public and private conſiderations, let us conſider the thing more ſimply. The king of France had already engaged himſelf to undertake the ſupport of thoſe princes; had neglected nothing to attach them to him; had offered them his aſſiſtance at all times; had declared in terms ſufficiently high, that he would allow no one to uſe them ill; and had alſo ordered his troops to advance to the frontiers; ſo that it was a point of honour and juſtice of long continuance, and it was inconſiſtent with his character to recede. Our kings have been rarely inſenſible to this impulſe of generoſity, which induces them to ſupport unfortunate princes. This was not preciſely the preſent caſe. The perſons in queſtion had rendered real ſervices to his majeſty, and ſhewn on all occaſions, that nothing but want of power hindered them from performing greater. It became Henry, therefore, as a friend, and as one obliged, to recollect all that they had done for him in his days of diſtreſs. When Francis I. aided Philip, landgrave of Heſſe, uncle to the preſent, to reſtore duke Ulric to the poſſeſſion of the duchy of Wirtenburg; when Henry II. joined Maurice, elector of Saxony, to deliver the German princes oppreſſed by

Charles V. their perſonal honour only, and that of their crown, induced them to take theſe ſteps under very conſiderable inconveniences. They had fewer inducements than Henry the Great, the motive of affection and gratitude only, more powerful indeed than any others.

And here I may poſitively contradict thoſe who complain of involving his majeſty, out of pure gallantry, in a war with Spain, capable of inflaming all Chriſtendom, merely on account of ſome foreign intereſt, which might be adjudged without drawing the ſword. Theſe are equally ignorant of the nature of the thing, and the conſequences of the undertaking. They will at length allow, that, in the preſent conjuncture, the enterpriſe, which has for its object the aſſurance of the ſucceſſion of Cleves to the true heirs, is an affair of ſo prompt execution, that the public will hardly know of it, but by the effects: that Spain, by making peace with her proper ſubjects, a peace by which, ſuch is their ruinous ſituation, they are bettered in no reſpect, hath afforded us a proof of ſuch a political weakneſs, and exhauſted condition, that ſhe muſt ſubmit to the laws of an impoſed neutrality: that the emperor is no longer in a condition to diſpute with us, he being defrauded of his ſuccours from one part of Germany; and we, on the other hand, having more means to act than we had for a conſiderable time. In ſhort, it is a ſcheme which ought to coſt France little more than to ſay ſhe will execute it. The event hath juſtified all this beyond contradiction.

This therefore is properly an affair of no conſequence, if we conſider it as reſpecting only the buſineſs of Cleves; and they who talk in another manner, do it certainly only for this reaſon, that, ſpeaking according to the rules of politics, it is only an introduction to another more illuſtrious and extenſive, which Europe has obſerved to be formed by his majeſty, for the depreſſion of the houſe of Au-

Auſtria. I am ſo ſincere, as readily to allow that buſineſs muſt be done at once, and ſuch was the advice I gave to my maſter, who was of the ſame opinion with myſelf. Of this I can only convince thoſe, who like me, will examine the affair without paſſion or prejudice; and of thoſe men I hold myſelf certain, becauſe their opinion will be the reſult of every reflection that can be made upon the different ſchemes by which this deſign may be carried on. I will give an account of them, ſuch as they roſe in my own mind, when I was moſt deeply engaged in thoſe conſiderations.

THE firſt opinion, and the leaſt plauſible, is to ſit quiet and ſee the parties concerned, fight out their quarrel, or at leaſt aſſiſt our friends only with our councils. As policy will always direct us not to ſtand unarmed to look upon thoſe that are at war, it would be neceſſary to keep a body of troops upon the frontier, if for no other purpoſe than to take advantage of every change which any moment might produce. By taking this ſide, therefore, we make no alteration in our expences, but that we are obliged to continue them longer than if, by engaging vigorouſly, we ſhould put an end to it at a blow.

I SAY the ſame thing of the ſecond ſcheme, which appears on the firſt view ſufficiently ſpecious, that is, to ſupport the princes againſt the houſe of Auſtria; not openly, but by ſecret means, as we have already done in the war of Flanders. The peace ſubſiſting in other reſpects among all the other powers of Europe, there was reaſon to fear, leſt theſe private ſuccours ſhould be too weak to enable our allies to reſiſt the two branches of the houſe of Auſtria united againſt them, which is the end to be kept always in view, as is generally agreed; and, in this caſe, we ſhould have been obliged to keep at all the three points of land where their conteſted country borders upon France and Flanders, a body of forces conſiſting at leaſt of four thouſand foot, and eight hundred horſe, advantageouſly poſted upon our own ground, or in the neutral country, where, however, they were to have performed no act of hoſtility, but only have guarded the paſſages, kept the enemy at a diſtance, and prevented the total ruin of thoſe in whoſe favour we engaged: in this caſe the expence would have been great, and its conſequence only the protraction of that war, which, by taking it vigorouſly in hand, might be finiſhed at a blow. It is ſaid in a political proverb; "He that gives ſoon, gives twice:" to which I ſhall add another; "He that gives only "half gives twice, and gives nothing." Of this we have a late example in the revolt of the United Provinces, that this manner of ſupporting an ally, which upon the whole is equally chargeable with a quick and powerful aſſiſtance, has no other effect than to force them ſoon or late upon an accommodation, when we might have withdrawn them all at once from the dominion of Spain. If this be all the advantage which our alliance will procure to the princes of Germany, we oblige them but little, or not at all, there being this difference between them and Holland, that under whatever pretenſions a treaty is offered them, it can only be intended as a lure, by which the emperor will draw them within his power, and deſtroy them; and who can tell that we ſhall not ourſelves feel the conſequences? It was a juſt expreſſion of Bongars, "That Leopold in Juliers, is a ferret in a warren." This ſcheme therefore is of no other uſe than to ſave the king a little perſonal trouble, who at moſt would be under no neceſſity to go farther than Chalons or Rheims.

Between this plan and that of a general combination againſt the houſe of Auſtria, another has been contrived of a middle kind, of which the laſt Savoy expedition may be given as an inſtance. In this it is laid down, as a ſuppoſition, that the allies on each part, act as if they had agreed amongſt themſelves to ſupport the cauſe only ſo far as may be neceſſary to gain the point openly debated, and without pretending to infringe what they had promiſed for themſelves in the treaty of Vervins. If this is not a mere ſuppoſition, it appears at leaſt to be a ſcheme of meaſures that would be long, expenſive, and perplexing, which muſt begin by a diſcuſſion of the proportion of troops, which each of the allies muſt furniſh; and then an enquiry after funds that may ſupport theſe troops for two years at leaſt, of which the firſt year, and the three firſt months of the next, will be ſpent in going and coming, and ſettling operations. The winter is rough in that country where the war is to be carried on; and, that the army may not be ruined, the cold muſt be at an end before any action commences. In an enterprize where the king will not be at the head as chief of the army, it will be ſufficient for him to put the troops deſigned againſt Cleves under a prince, or a marſhal of France: but he muſt, nevertheleſs, make the proper preparations, and advance the neceſſary money, of which the greater ſums will be required, as he will have the appearance, however he may endeavour to avoid it, of ſupporting all this burden alone, or nearly alone. He will be likewiſe obliged to keep three thouſand men in Dauphiné, and the ſame number in Provence, in Languedoc, and in Guienne. I can then ſee nothing better to be done, than to chuſe a certain number of places ſo ſituated as to be able to defend one another, and to ſerve as a chain to join the country of Cleves with France and the United Provinces; and to fortify theſe cities, which will again be a conſiderable expence.

Thus all theſe reflections bring us back to the firſt expedient, as the moſt efficacious, to keep meaſures no longer with Spain; to treat the houſe of Auſtria as the general enemy of Europe; to raiſe it rivals and adverſaries on every ſide; to pour ſtrong armies upon it; to claim back the country of Cleves; and, when we have made the demand, to do ourſelves juſtice, by ſeizing upon it, and upon all the places which ſhall be judged ſufficient for the common cauſe, upon the ſide of Luxemburg, Limburg, Aix, &c. at the ſame inſtant to extend our forces, and cover the frontiers of the Alps and Pyrenees: in a word, to ſet up the ſtandard, and ſhow to all the world that the day is at laſt come, for which the king of France has been preparing ſo many years, and with ſo much care; that this prince will ſhow himſelf now proceeding under the direction of honour, armed to revenge one part of the world, for the attacks of an unjuſt and haughty power; and who then will refuſe to follow him? We are aſſured by our correſpondents of almoſt all Italy and Germany; we take along with us the United Provinces, ſhewing them their enemy by our power removed from their frontiers; we ſhall untie the hands and the tongues of thoſe powers who are now reſtrained by fear; and, if our endeavours are not equally ſupported on all ſides, the general reſentment, which we may now make uſe of, will ſecure us from being thwarted by more than a very ſmall number.

It muſt be expected that the houſe of Auſtria will put heaven and earth into commotion to put aſide, or to ſuſtain a blow that threatens her ruin; but when an exact view is taken of all the ſupport which ſhe can be ſuppoſed to have, either from herſelf or her allies, if it be generally confeſſed that Europe is in a ſtate of agitation from which it cannot be ſet free, but by long and cruel wars, which will reſtore its liberty, and perhaps take it away for ever; can ſhe chuſe a better time for the determination of her fate than this, when the hazard is leaſt, and the ſucceſs moſt likely? This is what I have now to ſay, without anticipating the particulars which I have promiſed to give of the great deſigns of Henry IV. and the manner in which they were to be put in execution.

It was the partiſans of Spain, the ſupporters of the Old League, the enemies of the proteſtants, and the diſaffected French, jealous of the king's glory, and the kingdom's proſperity, who uſed their utmoſt endeavours to diſſuade his majeſty from engaging in thoſe great deſigns, which he had formed; but, finding that all their efforts had proved ineffectual, and that he was upon the point of carrying them into execution, they exerted all the arts which yet remained. They took advantage of Henry's propenſity to pleaſure, and ſought to raiſe a conflict in his mind, between his deſire of fame, and thoſe inclinations which made a ſoft and voluptuous life too alluring. Again they endeavoured to fill him with ſuſpicions of the whole body of proteſtants in general, and of me in particular: they placed before his eyes his kingdom torn to pieces by factions, who eagerly expected a war, at a time when they might act their treaſons with impunity; and the princes his aſſociates, as artful deceivers, who laughed at his vain projects. There were ſome moments when Henry, tho' upon his guard againſt this ſort of artifice, ſuffered himſelf to be ſhaken by it; and I myſelf perhaps contributed to diſcourage him without knowing it, by repreſenting to him, that a prince, who had expanded his heart to entertain deſigns ſo noble, ought to begin the execution of them, by ſhutting out all fondneſs for trifling amuſements and expences, which had only mere conveniency in view: that, on a like occaſion, Ferdinand and Iſabella of Caſtile, and ſeveral of our own kings, had leſſened the expences of their houſhold; as likewiſe thoſe of the queen. In a word, I told him, that he ought no more to think of pleaſure, but in vanquiſhing his enemies; or, at leaſt, till victory was his own.

It happened very fortunately to fix the wavering mind of Henry, that the German princes, of their own accord, and in oppoſition to the emperor, held an aſſembly at Hall, in Suabia, to deliberate upon the means of reſtoring the circles to their former liberty. They met there on the day appointed, to the number of eighteen or twenty †. The Venetians, the prince of Orange, the States of Holland, and the duke of Savoy, who had at laſt taken a reſolution to engage in the common cauſe, ſent deputies thither to repreſent them; the manifeſtoes, which were carefully circulated, joined to the public diſcourſe; and what was privately intimated by Boiſſiſe ‡, and other agents of his majeſty, had ſo good an effect, that it was publicly deliberated to ſtop the progreſs of the houſe of Auſtria; and it was reſolved, that ambaſſadors ſhould be ſent to his moſt chriſtian majeſty, in the name of the aſſembled powers, to offer him all their forces, and to demand a promiſe of his, when required. Theſe ambaſſadors were appointed, and ſet out directly.

Henry had juſt given them their firſt audience, when he came to the arſenal to tell me all they had ſaid and offered, and to conſult with me upon the anſwer he ſhould give to their propoſals. He deſired me to conſider the matter attentively, while he went to dine at Zamet's; adding, that he would return, and paſs part of the afternoon with me in my garden, where he appointed me to meet him.

We met there accordingly, and Henry, taking my hand, ordered every one to retire, and went to the terrace, which was the place where we uſually held our moſt ſerious converſations. "Well, ſaid his "majeſty, what do you think of our affairs; for "ſome are of one opinion, and ſome of another?"

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† See the names of theſe princes, M. de Boiſſiſe's ſpeech, the manner and reſolutions of this aſſembly, in Vol. 9765, MSS. R---- Mem. d'etat de Villeroi, Vol. III. p. 230, & ſeq.---Merc. Franc. anno 1610. Siri, ib. Vol. IV. p. 68.

‡ John de Thumery de Boiſſiſe.

This appearing to me a favourable opportunity to confirm him in his reſolution, I ſhewed him plainly, that thoſe who oppoſed it were doubtleſs excited to do ſo by ſecret motives, which I ſeemed to be ignorant of: ſince, if we examined things in three principal points of view, namely, with regard to his own perſon, the ſtate of affairs within his kingdom, and of thoſe without, there were no difficulties to be comprehended; for, without flattery, he was, in the opinion of the French nation, ſuperior to the greateſt warriors and ſtateſmen of his age; and that ſuch a ſchool could not fail of producing men excellent in both capacities, as it had already done, which would aſſiſt him in bearing the weight of a new burden he was preparing for himſelf and them. With regard to the affairs at home, there were neither princes, grandees, nor cities in his kingdom, which were in a condition, who were diſpoſed, or had the means of retarding his enterpriſe, much leſs preſume to attack him, when they ſaw him at the head of all the forces of Europe: and, beſides this, he was going to open a theatre where thoſe braggarts would find occaſions of ſignalizing themſelves much more glorioſly than in dark plots, where nothing was to be gained but infamy: and, laſtly, as to the affairs without the kingdom, the difficulty of uniting ſo many powers, in the ſame deſign, which had hitherto been conſidered as the only one to be feared, would be happily removed in a very ſhort time.

"AND now, Sire, ſaid I, all that remains to be "conſidered, is, whether you have the means of "continuing the war as long as it is neceſſary upon "the ſame foot as you are going to begin it: for I "ſee plainly, that France is the hinge upon which "all muſt turn: therefore, purſued I, I think it fit "to tell your majeſty, that with regard to the chief "point, which is money, provided your war con-"tinues only three years, and that you have not "oc-

" occaſion for more than forty thouſand men, I " will ſupply you with money ſufficient for them, " without laying any new tax upon your people; " and as for other things, ſuch as proviſions, am- " munition, and artillery, I will ſhew you ſuch a " quantity of them, that you ſhall acknowledge " there is enough; and then, I believe, we ſhall " make war in ſuch a manner, that of the three " ſtandards, white, black, and red †, we ſhall not " need to diſplay any but the firſt, and that once " for all: the fate of thoſe who firſt reſiſt, will be " a leſſon for all the reſt." " But not to inter- " rupt you," ſaid his majeſty to me, " pray how " much money have I? for I never yet knew ex- " actly." " How much do you think you have, " Sire?" replied I. " Have I twelve millions?" ſaid he. A little more," ſaid I. " How! four- " teen?" reſumed he, going on, ſtill augmenting it two millions more each time, becauſe my conſtant anſwer was a little more, till he came to thirty millions. " Oh! I aſk no more," cried he, embracing me in a tranſport of joy. " I have drawn " up a paper, ſaid I, by which your majeſty will " find that you may depend upon a new fund of " forty millions extraordinary, without encroach- " ing upon the uſual expences of your houſhold and " the ſtate, upon a ſuppoſition, however, that my " œconomy is not traverſed." " And where is this " paper?" ſaid Henry precipitately. " I will give " it you, Sire, I replied, whenever you pleaſe, " written with my own hand."

I AFTERWARDS ſhewed his majeſty a way how to be aſſiſted, both in men and money, by his allies, provided that he would continue fixed in this part of his deſigns, in purſuance of which, as we had agreed, he would enrich them all with the conqueſts he gained from the houſe of Auſtria, without reſerving any thing for himſelf. "How! ſaid Henry, "would you have me expend ſixty millions in con-"quering territories for others, and keep nothing "for myſelf? And pray what is to become of Spain? "you ſay nothing of her." "Spain, Sire, I re-"plied, is to remain as ſhe is: we muſt not take "any thing from her king: ſhe muſt ſerve to keep "all thoſe whom your liberalities have enriched un-"der the ſhadow of your protection, a king of "Spain being always powerful enough to oppreſs "them ſeparately; when no longer ſupported by "you, they will never fail in the gratitude and reſ-"pect they owe you." I likewiſe, without having recourſe to that general maxim, that too great extent of territory rather weakens than ſtrengthens a government, eaſily brought Henry to acknowledge, that many inconveniences would attend his appropriating the conquered countries to himſelf; that it would be a ſubject for eternal hatred and jealouſy; and, all things conſidered, the greateſt and moſt ſolid advantage he could acquire by his conqueſts, if he diſtributed them with equity, was, a right of being regarded as the ſole benefactor and arbitrator of Europe.

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† By this expreſſion, the author means, that no prince or ſtate would refuſe to join their forces to thoſe of the confederates, after their intention was once made, and after they had puniſhed the firſt who ſhould endeavour to oppoſe them.

What I moſt earneſtly recommended to him, was, to guard againſt every poſſible reverſe of fortune; as, for example, if he ſhould be abandoned or betrayed by his allies, to have it always in his power to bring back his armies into his own kingdom, not only without danger, but honour, to facilitate which, nothing was more neceſſary than to build forts at proper diſtances on the road of Cleves. To this piece of advice, I added another, which was to provide great plenty of proviſions in the neighbourhood of thoſe provinces; for, beſides that it was not eaſy to carry them through a country ſo encloſed and croſſed by rivers as that was, the whole canton was divided among ſeveral little princes, who had already gathered in the fruits of the preſent harveſt, great part of it being pillaged before: that it would be ſcarce poſſible for an army to ſubſiſt there fifteen days, without being obliged to have recourſe to the magazines of thoſe princes, where every thing would be ſet at ſo high a price, that all his money would ſcarcely ſuffice to purchaſe what was wanted. I therefore told his majeſty, that I would, if he conſented to it, ſend for the merchants with whom I uſed formerly to treat, when I had any great enterpriſes in hand, and would agree with them for every thing we had occaſion for at a reaſonable price.

THE king, at parting, collecting in one view all that I had ſaid to him, told me, that he was going to conſider of the reſolution it was proper for him to take, and deſired that I would not neglect to examine every thing with the deepeſt attention; that he would come very often and confer with me; and that I might begin to make all thoſe preparations I had mentioned, by which I concluded that I had obtained part, at leaſt, of what I deſired.

I SENT for the merchants of Liege, Aix, Triers, and Cologne, with whom I made the following agreement: That they ſhould furniſh me, in the ſpace of three months, with all ſorts of ammunition, proviſions, forage, and warlike ſtores, and ſend them to that part of the frontier near Cleves, which I ſhould appoint. I had drawn up an exact liſt of every thing which was neceſſary for an army of twenty-five thouſand foot, and five thouſand horſe, at the ſame price they bore in the preſent fair the month of October: that I, on my ſide, ſhould advance them the ſum of ſix hundred thouſand crowns, which ſhould remain in their hands a year at leaſt, giving them at Paris a million for ſecurity of this ſum, which was to indemnify them for the expences of purchaſe, ſelling at loſs, waſte, and other accidents.

The king was ſo well pleaſed with my proceedings, that he ordered me to put the finiſhing hand to them, and, in the overflowings of his joy, recounted all to Sillery, Villeroi, and Jeannin, and afterwards to the count of Soiſſons, cardinal Joyeuſe ‡, the duke of Epernon, and ſeveral others, ſome of whom applied themſelves with ſuch malice and dexterity to make him believe that I had drawn him into my ſnares, by ſending thoſe magazines out of the kingdom, which I had long wiſhed for an opportunity of doing, to appropriate them to myſelf, that this prince, tho' already prejudiced againſt every thing which came from them, at length ſwallowed the poiſon; and when he ſaw me, ſome days afterwards, aſked me if the contract for proviſions was ſigned. I replied it was not; becauſe I thought it a thing of too much conſequence to be done without a previous application to the council, which had not met ſince. Henry, who in this procedure ought to have found nothing but exactneſs, thought it had an appearance of falſhood and artful precaution, which confirmed his ſuſpicions, and therefore bid me not conclude the bargain till I had an order from him. "Sire," replied I, ſtill ignorant of his meaning, "the merchants will not ſtay." "If they "will not ſtay," reſumed he, with the ſame dryneſs and reſerve, "they may go back again." This opened my eyes, and anger being now rouzed in my breaſt as well as his, "I begin to perceive, "Sire, ſaid I, that you have ſomething in your "thoughts which I am not to know: I ſhall ſend "the merchants back, ſince you will have it ſo; "but you will be pleaſed to remember this affair "another time." Saying this we ſeparated with great coldneſs on both ſides.

No more mention was made of the proviſions till a long time after, when the king coming to the arſenal to confer with me upon other affairs, before ſome of his courtiers, as uſual, took me aſide, and ſaid, "I have been informed that the States of Hol-"land will ſend ambaſſadors to me in a few days, "to ſettle all that we are to do: in the mean time, "let us make the neceſſary preparations, that no-"thing may be wanting on our part." This was all he ſaid then. The deputies arrived ſoon after with letters from the prince of Orange and the council of the States, for his majeſty and for me. Henry opened them all, and finding that they aſſured him they would anſwer for the ſucceſs of his enterpriſe, provided he would take the precaution to have all the neceſſary proviſions upon the ſpot, giving him the ſame advice on this occaſion as I myſelf had done, he began to be diſabuſed, and, cloſing my letters again, gave them to L'Oſerai to carry to me. I found out this artifice immediately, and thought it allowable to return it with another for as good a purpoſe. I ſealed my letters, after I had read them as he had done, and agreed with L'Oſerai that he ſhould bring them to me, as if for the firſt time, when the king, who was to come in the afternoon to the arſenal, was with me.

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‡ Francis de Joyeuſe.

Henry came accordingly, and began the converſation, by aſking me if I had received letters from Meſſieurs the States: "For I am informed, ſaid he, "that there are ſome for you." "I have not got "them, Sire," replied I. "You will have them "ſoon, reſumed the king; for I have given orders "to have them brought to you, and mine alſo: but, "in the mean time, let us talk about the proviſions; "for we ſhall go at a time when there is none to be "got." "I foreſaw this long ago, Sire, ſaid I, "and I would have given proper orders for every "thing that was neceſſary: you yourſelf not only "approved of my diſpatch, but even commanded "it. However you have, by the malice of my "enemies, been perſuaded to alter your reſolution, "the inconveniency of which will, I am afraid, "fall heavy upon you; for that which might have "been had eaſily and at a moderate price, at that "time, which was the ſeaſon of harveſt, will be "very dearly and with difficulty purchaſed now; "and, what is ſtill worſe, I know not whether any "one will be bold enough to undertake to furniſh "with proviſions an army of more than an hundred "and fifty thouſand men, and thirty thouſand "horſes." "Who will undertake it? replied "Henry; why you, unleſs you have an inclination "to offend me." "I would rather die than offend "you, Sire, ſaid I; but you ought not to lay your "commands upon me to do what is now become "impoſſible, ſince you would not permit me to do "it at a proper time." "Let us ſpeak no more of "what is paſt, reſumed the king; think only of "the future. You muſt undertake this affair your-"ſelf, and to your other poſts and employments, "add that of ſuperintendant of proviſions. I de-"ſire, as a friend, that you will accept of this office; "for, I know, if you act as you have always done, "you will acquit yourſelf well in it."

I REPRESENTED to his majeſty very ſeriouſly, that I had already ſufficient buſineſs upon my hands in the care of the artillery, which alone, and in the preſent conjuncture eſpecially, might employ four perſons; beſides which, I had all the ordinary expences of the ſtate to provide, thoſe of his majeſty's houſhold, the queen's and their children; as likewiſe of the fortifications, buildings, and other public works; and, laſtly, for all his troops, either at home or abroad. "How! interrupted Henry, do you "really refuſe then to grant a requeſt, which I make "you as one friend would another? If you con-"tinue thus obſtinate, I ſhall believe that you no "longer love me; and that you really nouriſh thoſe "deſigns, which, for a long time, endeavours have "been uſed to perſuade me you do." "What, "Sire," ſaid I haſtily (taking advantage of the words which had eſcaped him) "am I then indeed "ſo unhappy, that, when I ſacrifice my life for your "ſervice, your honour, and your fame, you ſhould "ſtill return, and, on the ſlighteſt ſuggeſtions, to "ſuſpicions of my fidelity. This I confeſs wounds "me cruelly, deprives me of all courage to ſerve you, "and will at length put an end to my life." "Well, reſumed Henry, who had reſolved to expoſe me to all kinds of aſſaults, "ſince you think in this manner, I "ſhall eaſily find a remedy for all theſe difficulties: we "muſt break off our journey, paſs the time as well "as we can, and live in peace with all the world; "agree with all parties, and give them money to "make them eaſy: for we have amaſſed a great "quantity, and we will uſe it for that purpoſe." "It is well reſolved on, Sire, replied I; and, for "myſelf, I declare, that I am ſatisfied, ſince it will "free me from many vexations, watchings, labours, "reproaches, and dangers."

Henry interrupted me here with an emotion of rage he was not able to reſtrain, and reproached me with being a diſſembler. "I know, ſaid he, that "what you have ſaid, is far from being your real "thoughts or deſires: it is you who would be moſt "grieved if we do not make war, which you have "ſo long and ſo earneſtly preſſed me to do." "It "is true, Sire, replied I, that I think fortune pre"ſents you with a favourable opportunity to acquire "honour and fame, if you are diſpoſed to improve "it; but, if not, it is fit that your ſervants ſhould "pretend not to ſee it. I added, that his great "deſigns not only turned upon his own perſon, but "alſo depended ſo entirely upon himſelf, that, as he "alone would ſecure the ſucceſs, ſo likewiſe, by "one ſingle geſture, or word imprudently uttered, "he might ruin them for ever." At length, having endeavoured to hit upon a medium which might compoſe the difference between us, "If your ma"jeſty, ſaid I, will be pleaſed to commit the ſuper"intendance of the proviſions to Meſſieurs Jeannin

" and Caumartin, I promiſe to aſſiſt them with my " advice, my labour, and my credit; and alſo with " men and money, with a ſollicitude as great as if " my life depended upon it: but, if I undertake " the office alone, you will never be perſuaded to " believe, that the difficuities which may ariſe have " any other cauſe than my negligence or want of " attachment to you." " Well! replied Henry, " I ſhall ſee what is to be done. However, if " thoſe perſons will not engage in the affair without " you, you muſt prepare to labour in conjunction " with them, unleſs you reſolve to ſee me break off " my journey." L'Oſerai entering that moment with the letters, he received a ſevere reprimand from the king, for neglecting to bring them to me before.

From this time his majeſty was continually employed in making preparations for his great enterpriſe. The councils which were held from thenceforwards were kept very ſecret, and moſt frequently met at the arſenal. The king always admitted M. de Vendôme to theſe councils; and laboured to inſtruct him, as well in all affairs of ſtate, as of war. He perceived, that there was a little coldneſs between the prince and myſelf; and, being reſolved to reconcile us, took the following method to effect it: " I have been informed," ſaid he to me one day, " that my ſon de Vendôme, and yours, are at vari- " ance with each other. I am deſirous of recon- " ciling them: ſend for your ſon to-morrow morn- " ing at eight o'clock into your cloſet; I will bring " my ſon thither at that hour, and talk to them " both." Accordingly, when we were met, Henry took the young men, each by the hand, and ſaid to them, " You ſee how greatly I love M. de Sully, " and with what freedom I live with him. I would " have you two on the ſame terms with each other, " and follow our advice, we that are old and expe- " rienced, to the end, that your youth may ſupport " itſelf with the prop of our age. And you, my

" ſon, honour and reſpect the duke of Sully as my-
" ſelf; and often viſit him, that you may learn
" from him the art of war, and method to be uſed
" in buſineſs of ſtate: through his affection for me,
" he will communicate his knowledge to you as
" freely as to his own ſon, whom I deſire you
" would love as your brother; and I command you
" both to bury in oblivion whatever may have oc-
" caſioned any abatement of your former friendſhip."

I SAW with pleaſure ſome new obſtacle removed every day. The alliance, which had been propoſed to the duke of Savoy †, and which had been already mentioned, was eagerly accepted. The king of Sweden offered himſelf as an ally to France; and, to connect the intereſts of both crowns more ſecurely, gave the king to underſtand, that it would be in France where he would ſeek for a wife for the prince his ſon, who, young as he was, courageouſly ſeconded all his brave reſolutions. The kings of England and Denmark were already above half gained. The proteſtants of Hungary, Bohemia, Moravia, Sileſia, and the Upper Auſtria, ſtimulated by our agents, and yet more determined by the cruelties which the emperor's miniſters, excited by the jeſuits, practiſed upon them, had lately aſſured us, that, as ſoon as the war ſhould be declared, they would make a powerful diverſion in thoſe borders of Germany. We found by letters from Bongars, and the landgrave of Heſſe, that the elector of Saxony would not be prevailed upon to take part againſt the emperor; but, to make amends for this bad news, the elector of Bavaria entered into an unlimited engagement with us, upon condition that he ſhould be choſen to ſucceed the emperor, and actually named king of the Romans. The Swiſs cantons appeared very favourably diſpoſed towards us. In a word, none could reſiſt the allurements of thoſe conqueſts, which all were made to expect. The pope himſelf, the moſt difficult in appearance to be gained, ſhewed he was not inſenſible: upon my telling the nuncio one day, that I intended to make his maſter a king, he thanked me for this news, which, he ſaid, was the beſt he could ever impart to his holineſs.

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† See the treaty concluded this year between France and Savoy, in Nevers's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 832, and the definitive treaty ſigned at Bruſol, the 25th of April, in the year following; by which the king of France engages, amongſt other things, to put the duke of Savoy in poſſeſſion of the Milaneſe, ib. p. 880. This treaty is ſet forth, according to the Italian original, by Vittorio Siri, ibid. Vol. II. p. 236. But this writer contradicts himſelf, by ſaying, Vol. I. p. 512, that it was the duke of Sully who negotiated this agreement between France and Savoy; aſſerting afterwards, p. 566, that it was the duke of Sully's intention the duke of Savoy ſhould reap no other advantage from it, than only to obtain the protection of France.

But a reſource ſtill more certain, which we had begun to make uſe of, in caſe of refuſal from the ſovereign pontiff, and all the little ſtates of Italy, as Florence, Mantua, Montferrat, Modena, Urbino, Genoa, and Lucca, was to march with an army into the Milanois, and force them all either to join or contribute, at leaſt, ſome ſums of money to the common armament. Leſdiguieres had been commiſſioned to ſet on foot a body of twelve thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe, with a train of artillery conſiſting of twelve pieces of cannon; and, while he was employed in making theſe levies, I ſet apart every month a fund of a hundred thouſand crowns for their maintenance, the aſſignments for which were expediated and already ſent. I expected that the duke of Savoy, the Venetians, who were the moſt zealous for, as indeed they were the moſt intereſted in this part of the ſcheme, and the pope, in caſe we could prevail upon him to declare himſelf, would each furniſh as much.

The ſtorm began now to gather towards Germany. They had actually levied, for the great army which was deſtined for Cleves, twenty thouſand foot, four thouſand horſe, and got ready a train of artillery conſiſting of no leſs than fifty cannons:

the carriages, horſes, mules, and all the reſt of the baggage in proportion were alike well furniſhed, and in a fit condition for ſervice. The levies finiſhed, the army began to file off towards Cleves. Although the war was not yet declared, the company of two hundred men of arms, called the queen's, of which I was captain-lieutenant, received orders to be at Mézieres, on the laſt day of July, complete and fully equipped.

THE king, who delayed to ſet up his ſtandard till the next ſpring ſhould afford a proper time to take the field, reſolved to avoid every thing that might look like invaſion till within ten days of his ſetting out. He wrote to the archduke, acquainting him, that, being ſolicited by the lawful heirs of the duke of Cleves to aſſiſt them againſt certain perſons, who, ſupported by ſeveral powerful princes, attempted to poſſeſs themſelves of their dominions, he could not refuſe to aid them; and, as the road his army was to take lay through his territory, he entreated him to conſent to his marching through as a friend; that he would commit no act of hoſtility, unleſs forced to it; and would keep his troops under exact diſcipline. The archduke's anſwer, which did not arrive till after his majeſty's death, was to this effect:

"MY lord, it is in the quality of one of the "humbleſt of your ſervants, that I entreat you will "march through my territories: my gates ſhall be "open to you, and proviſions at your ſervice, rely"ing upon the aſſurance your majeſty will, I hope, "be pleaſed to give, that no act of hoſtility ſhall be "committed during your march."

SUCH was the ſtate of affairs in France at the concluſion of the year 1609, the laſt months of which Henry had ſolely employed in bringing his ſcheme to perfection. The beginning of the following year produced no change in his reſolutions, nor intermiſſion to his labour: he was ſo entirely engroſſed by them, that he often made very indiſcreet confidences. On New-year's day, when I went to make him the uſual compliments and preſents, he was ſo well pleaſed with the device of the medals I brought him, that he put two of them in his pocket to ſhew to ſome of the courtiers. Upon theſe medals was repreſented the globe of the earth, ſelf-balanced in the midſt of an atmoſphere, and aſſaulted, in vain, by winds and ſtorms; with theſe words in Latin upon the exergue of the medal, "Suo ſe pondere fulcit;" altogether expreſſing the analogy between this emblem and the condition of our affairs, which, by the wiſe government of Henry, was capable of triumphing over all the efforts of our enemies. His majeſty, at his riſing from dinner, found the count of Soiſſons and the cardinals de Joyeuſe and Du-Perron converſing together in his library: he ſhewed them the medals; and theſe gentlemen to pleaſe him, enlarged upon the praiſes he beſtowed on me, ſaying, that I was ſo much the more worthy of them, as, that in men of quality, a taſte for the belles lettres was ſeldom found united with the talents neceſſary to form a complete ſtatesman and ſoldier.

I WAS preſent at this diſcourſe, together with many other perſons, who had followed the king into the library. He ordered all to retire, except M. de Vendôme, that he might converſe with thoſe I have firſt mentioned. La-Varenne and Béringhen ſtaid likewiſe; but kept near the door. I was extremely uneaſy when I heard his majeſty begin to talk of his great project before ſeveral perſons whom I knew were not all equally well affected to his intereſt; and my uneaſineſs encreaſed upon his ſaying, that he would give Spain and the houſe of Auſtria ſuch a blow, as would prevent them, for the future, from being conſidered as formidable enemies by France, whatever change might happen, either with regard to the royal family, or in the form of his government. Theſe words were ſufficiently imprudent;

but he did not ſtop here, and was upon the point of betraying his ſecret, by diſcovering circumſtances of greater importance. He no longer remembered what he had often ſaid to me the year before, that he was beſet with men who were continually laying ſnares for him, to penetrate into the bottom of his heart, and whoſe curioſity, on this occaſion, could not but proceed from a very bad motive.

I TOOK the liberty to pull him by the cloak, without any one's perceiving it, which he underſtood ſo well, that he ſtopped ſhort as if he had forgot ſomething; "My memory, ſaid he, grows extremely bad: I cannot recollect the names of perſons, "cities, and countries. I entreat you," purſued he turning to me, "to draw up memorials of all my "own deſigns, their cauſes, and the expedients neceſſary for effecting them: as likewiſe to give me "in writing the ſubſtance of all the converſations "we have had together on theſe ſubjects, as far "back as you can recollect, that, when my memory "is refreſhed, I may communicate all to ſuch of my "ſervants whom I judge moſt worthy of my confidence" Thus did he extricate himſelf from the neceſſity he was under of ſaying more, ſince he had ſaid ſo much. I replied, that I would not fail to give him thoſe memorials he required; but that the work was not ſo ſhort, nor ſo eaſy to be executed, as that I could promiſe to ſatisfy him, unleſs I had prepared thoſe papers long before: notwithſtanding which, I was apprehenſive that they would be defective in many circumſtances, which I could only know from his own mouth, and upon which we had only had ſhort and interrupted conferences. The converſation ended in this manner.

THE king took part of the courtiers with him to hunt, and I went home to collect my papers, and put them in order. Some of thoſe upon the affairs of the finances were of great importance: but did not directly relate to his majeſty's vaſt deſigns. I ſet apart ſuch as I judged moſt neceſſary, and ſix days afterwards carried them to his majeſty, telling him, when I preſented them, that thoſe perſons, who looked with an evil eye upon his project, would be much more mortified if they knew what I had to ſhew him. "What! ſaid the king, have you "then concealed any thing of importance upon this "ſubject from me? I know not how to believe it." I anſwered, that was not the caſe; but that a thouſand things, which, mentioned ſeparately, are difficult to be remembered, when collected together ſtrike the imagination more forcibly.

AMONG the papers I left with his majeſty, thoſe which related to his deſign were only general ones. When he had examined them, he came to the arſenal, and, ſhutting himſelf up with me in my cloſet, "I have read your memorials, ſaid he, ſeveral times; "there are many good things in them eaſily to be "underſtood and executed; but there are others "that require ſome conſideration, and in which I "do not think you will find your account." "I "expected, Sire, replied I, to hear you ſpeak thus; "but, before you go any farther, I beg you will "allow me to tell you, that I have two other papers "to ſhew you, which, I am perſuaded, will clear up "all your doubts, and ſatisfy you entirely." "Oh, "have you ſo? ſaid the king: Well, give them to "me; I will read them at my leiſure, and then tell "you my ſentiments of them." In effect, theſe ſecond memorials contained only ſome explanations of the former, and ſatisfactory anſwers to the doubts which might be raiſed, or difficulties that might be alledged. In theſe, likewiſe, the king found how great a number of ſoldiers it was neceſſary to raiſe for the execution of his vaſt deſigns, and what money it would require to maintain them.

THE king was eager to ſee theſe other papers, and came himſelf for them to the arſenal. He took his reading glaſs, which lay upon a table in my cloſet, and read them quite through with great attention, declaring afterwards, that the memorials I had given him, eight days before, were ſufficiently explained by theſe; and that he now began to entertain hopes of ſucceſs, ſeeing that ſuch vaſt ſums were at preſent amaſſed, or might be very eaſily. "For, "provided we have money, ſaid he, I know I ſhall "not want ſoldiers, courage, or diligence. I am "ſure of it, Sire, ſaid I; and there is nothing too "great for you to perform, or above what I expect "from you. But here," added I, ſhewing him a little paper written and ſigned with my own hand, "is ſomething which will remove all your doubts." Henry looking upon it, and perceiving that it was an account of what ſums were then actually in his coffers, which amounted to thirty-ſix millions, embraced me eagerly three times; then, folding it up carefully and riſing, "Theſe two papers, ſaid he, "have given me great pleaſure. I ſee there is a "ſecure fund for my expences." "You muſt not "think, Sire," replied I, as we came out of the cloſet, "that this is all I am able to do; no, in a "caſe of extreme neceſſity, I may perhaps find the "means of producing you as much more: your "kingdom is ſo fertile and opulent, that it cannot "be drained, provided good management be uſed; "and that the money deſtined for the war be not "applied to other purpoſes." I ſhall not give the reader the trouble of examining all theſe accounts in this place, as I propoſe to inſert them exactly, in the expoſition I ſhall ſhortly make of Henry's great deſigns.

His majeſty went again to Fontainebleau at the beginning of March, but he ſtaid there only fifteen days: and, by the letters I received from him during that time, it was plain he never loſt ſight of his project. They all turned upon circumſtances relating to the war: in one, he mentions recruiting the five companies of the regiment of Piedmont to two hundred men each: in another, a company of light horſe, which he had commanded Soubiſe to raiſe, giving him twelve thouſand livres for that purpoſe; and ordered me to carry it to account immediately: in another, he directed me to confer with the chancellor Villeroi and Jeannin about all that was neceſſary for furniſhing his troops with proviſions, and to chuſe the magazines along the Maes preferably to all others: in another of his letters he laid down the order that was to be obſerved in levying his ſoldiers, their march to the place of rendezvous, their enrolment, and many other details of the ſame kind. This letter was addreſſed more particularly to me, becauſe it related to the levies which were to be made in my government.

I SHALL ſuppreſs, as uſual, ſeveral other letters like thoſe of the former years, which turned wholly upon ſmall payments, and affairs of the finances; and ſhall tranſcribe only one, which the king thought proper to ſend me, in anſwer to ſome words that had eſcaped me, concerning the pleaſure he took in hunting and in reſiding at Fontainebleau. "My "friend, I have heard what you ſaid upon my hunt-"ing, and my ſtay here; but do not imagine, that "the pleaſure I find in either ſhall leſſon my atten-"tion to make the neceſſary preparations for our "journey, or the raiſing my army, in all that de-"pends upon me: do you only take care to pro-"vide money and artillery, that nothing may be "wanting; but more eſpecially proviſions: for, "according to the account you have given me of "the ambaſſadors neceſſary to be ſent to the foreign "courts, the preſidents Jeannin and Caumartin "muſt be of the number. The others I leave to "your choice; for to you I ſhall apply on every "occaſion. I have often conſidered what you ſaid "to me concerning my wife and another perſon, "and the promiſes you exact from me. I ſhall "ſpeak to you more fully on this ſubject when I

" ſee you, which will be in two days. Adieu, my
" friend. Fontainebleau, March 15."

Henry, at his return from Fontainebleau, employed the remainder of March, and all April entirely, in putting the finiſhing hand to every thing that ſtill remained to be done for opening the campaign, which he was reſolved to do as ſoon as poſſible. He came frequently to the arſenal, and remained many hours ſhut up with me alone. The time paſſed away very ſwiftly while we diſcourſed upon the accompliſhment of his great deſigns; and a thouſand conſiderations, which, at the eve of ſo important an enterpriſe, preſented themſelves to his mind, both with reſpect to foreign affairs and the neceſſary diſpoſition of thoſe at home, that no inconvenience and diſorder might attend his abſence. For this purpoſe, the king ordered me to compoſe a long memorial upon war and affairs of ſtate, which, after we had together examined every particular, he took pleaſure in correcting with his own hand.

His majeſty appointed the following perſons to reſide in the quality of ambaſſadors in the ſeveral courts of Europe, while he was employed in the execution of his great deſign: my brother was to be ſent to Rome, and the other principalities and republics of Italy, who had not yet declared for the confederacy; Bouillon to the Venetians, and the duke of Savoy; Caumartin to the Swiſs cantons, Griſons, and their allies; Schomberg to the dukes of Saxony, Bavaria, and Brunſwick, the marquis of Brandenburg, and the other princes and cities of Germany, which had not yet entered into the alliance; Bongars to Hungary, Bohemia, and Tranſilvania; Boiſſiſe to Denmark, Sweden, and the cities ſituated upon the Baltick; Jeannin to Great Britain and the United Provinces, and the heirs of the principality of Cleves; Ancel to Vienna and Poland; Préaux to the archdukes; and Montglat to Conſtantinople.

THE government at home was deſtined for the queen, with the title of regent, aſſiſted by a council, without which ſhe could not conclude any thing; and which his majeſty compoſed of the cardinals de Joyeuſe and Du-Perron; the dukes of Maïenne, Montmorency, and Monthazon; the marſhals Briſſac and Fervaques, Meſſieurs de Châteauneuf, keeper of the ſeal of the regency, de Harlay, de Nicolaï, de Châteauvieux, de Liancourt, de Pont-carré, de Gêvrés, de Villemontée, and de Maupeou. This council was not only obliged to act conformably to the inſtructions which were given them, but were alſo tied up from determining any thing upon affairs of great conſequence, till they had firſt informed and conſulted his majeſty upon them. This great council had under it fourteen ſmaller ones, compoſed each of five perſons choſen out of the clergy, the nobleſſe, the lawyers, financiers, and the magiſtrates of the city of Paris. The number of theſe little councils was regulated by that of the provinces, or governments into which the kingdom was divided, in the following order: The iſle of France, Brittany, Normandy, Picardy, Champaign, Burgundy, Breſſe, Lyonois, Forez, Beaujolois; and Auvergne, Dauphiné, Guyenne, Poitou, Aunis, Xaintonge, Angoumois; and Limoſin, Orleans, Anjou; and Touraine, Maine, Perche, Berry, Bourbon, Nivernois, and La-Marche.

ABOUT this time, preparations of a very different nature were making in Paris, which Henry beheld with a deep regret; I mean, the ceremony of the queen's coronation. He had ſo ſtrong a reluctance to it, that no motive, leſs powerful than his complaiſance for the queen, could have forced him to conſent to it. That princeſs, as ſoon as ſhe had obtained an order for this ceremony, hurried on the preparations with the utmoſt eagerneſs. I have already mentioned the reaſons her creatures urged for her ſpeedy coronation; reaſons which muſt appear very extravagant or highly criminal. Henry propoſed to leave Paris immediately after the ceremony; and, as this could not occaſion a longer delay than fifteen days, orders were iſſued for all the troops, both horſe and foot, to begin their march directly to Champaign. The ſix thouſand Swiſs, which the king had cauſed to be levied, were conducted to Mouſon by the duke of Rohan, who had gone to the frontier to receive them. I ſent away all the ordnance. Never before had France ſeen a train of artillery ſo complete and ſo well furniſhed; and perhaps never will again. My ſon put himſelf at the head of it, by virtue of his poſt of grand-maſter, which his majeſty had been ſo good to give him the ſurvivance of. I prepared to follow ſoon after with eight millions of money.

At length the king gave the ſignal of his departure to the foreign powers, by the letter he wrote to the archduke; and here it follows, ſuch as it was, compoſed by me, and ſuch as the duke received, if Villeroi, through whoſe hands it paſſed, as ſecretary of ſtate, did not alter it, which he had a great inclination to do.

" Brother,

" Since I cannot refuſe, to my beſt allies and " confederates, the aſſiſtance they require of me, " againſt thoſe who diſpute with them the ſucceſ- " ſion to the duchies and earldoms of Cleves, Ju- " liers, La-Mark, Bergh, Ravenſburg, and Ra- " veſtein, I am preparing to march thither with " my whole army; and, becauſe my road lies " through your territories, I am willing to give you " notice of it, and know of you whether I am to " enter your country as a friend or an enemy; ſo, " in expectation of your anſwer, I beſeech God, &c."

I know not what judgment ought to be formed of a report which prevailed at that time, and was confirmed to the king, at Fontainebleau, by Girard, who arrived at Bruſſels on the 7th of March, that in the court and dominions of the archduke, people were perſuaded the king of France pretended to have great deſigns, only with a view to ſtrike terror into his enemies; and they were ſo certain that this was the ſole aim of his armament, that they made not the leaſt preparations for oppoſing him. The latter part of this news might be true, as in effect it was; yet the archduke was not ſo eaſy as he pretended to appear, otherways he would have thought very differently from every other perſon who had an intereſt in Spain and the houſe of Auſtria. Their conſternation was inexpreſſible; for, while their adverſary's party, which at the foreign courts was called the French faction, wore an air of joy and triumph, which ſeemed to ariſe from an aſſurance of ſucceſs, the Auſtrian party was ſilent, dejected, and inactive; the objects of the public deteſtation, and trembled leſt they ſhould ſoon be the public victims likewiſe. No poſſibility appeared of avoiding the thunder, which was preparing to burſt upon their heads: but, alas! why do I exult thus unſeaſonably? they had but too many reſources *; it was not by en-

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"* It is out of doubt, ſays Perefixe, that there were many conſpi-
" racies againſt the life of this good king; ſince he had notice of it
" from different quarters; ſince printed accounts of his death were
" publiſhed at Spain and at Milan; ſince a courier paſſed through
" the city of Liege, eight days before he was aſſaſſinated, who ſaid
" he was going with news, to the princes of Germany, of his being
" killed; and ſince, at Montargis, a note was found on the altar,
" containing a prediction of his approaching death, by a method de-
" termined upon, &c." p. 409.

The archbiſhop of Embrun, Honorius Du-Laurens, brother of the king's firſt phyſician, being in company with other prelates, ſaid, at the very time the king was murdered; " It is impoſſible but ſome
" miſchief muſt happen to the king from the preſent ſituation of
" affairs: perhaps at this very time we are talking of him, ſome
" diſaſter happens to him." Iſt letter of Nicholas Paſquier. " A
" prieſt of Douay ſaid, at the moment of his aſſaſſination, they were
" murdering the greateſt monarch on earth.---The ſiſter of Villars-
" Houdan, governor of Dieppe, a nun at St. Paul in Picardy, ſaid
" to her abbeſs; Madam, order prayers to be ſaid for the king, for
" they are murdering him: and, a moment after; Alas! he is killed."
Mat-

treaties, nor a noble deſpair, with which they were inclined to oppoſe a prince whom Europe had choſen to defend and avenge her. The head, which gave motion to this great body, muſt be laid low, and that by a murder. Never had treachery, poiſoning, aſſaſſination, gained a triumph ſo infamouſly great; a triumph ſo ſhameful, ſo deteſted, that no words can expreſs all its horror. With grief I proceed to acquaint the reader with the particulars of that fatal accident, the remembrance of which ſtill draws tears of blood from my heart.

WHAT ſhall we think of thoſe black preſages, which it is but too certain, this miſerable prince had of his cruel deſtiny? they were indeed dreadful, and ſurpriſing to the laſt degree *. I have al-

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Matthieu, ib. p. 835. Paſquier ſays further, in the ſame letter, that La-Font, provoſt of Bayonne, in 1608, came to the king to give him notice that there was a deſign formed againſt his perſon; and that, two or three days before this prince was ſtabbed, the ſame La-Font again told the chancellor, that he who was to kill the king was actually in Paris; that it had been revealed to him, &c. This fact is the ſame mentioned by Du-Pleix, p. 411, under the name of a gentleman of Bearn. Paſquier adds, that a merchant of Douay, writing, fifteen days before this murder happened, to a merchant at Rouen, aſked if it was true that the king was killed. One of the principal inhabitants of Cambrai ſaid, eight days before, "This old man has great deſigns, but he will not go much farther; and many other circumſtances of the like kind." There are alſo ſome particulars mentioned in the firſt volume of the life of Mary de Medicis, p. 68; and in many other writings.

* Marſhal Baſſompierre ſpeaks of it in his Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 292. & ſeq. in the following manner: "He ſaid to me, a little before that time, I do not know, Baſſompierre, what is the matter with me; but I cannot perſuade myſelf I ſhall ever go to Germany; nor can I believe thou wilt go into Italy. He often ſaid to me and others, I believe I ſhall die ſoon.---The queen had a violent inclination to be crowned before the king's departure for Germany; but the king was no way deſirous of it, as well to avoid the expence, as becauſe he was not at all fond of ſuch great feſtivals." It is highly probable this prince carefully concealed from every one but M. de Sully, the true motives which induced him to be againſt this ceremony. "Nevertheleſs, continues this writer, as he was the beſt huſband in the world, he conſented to it, and deferred his journey to Germany, till after ſhe ſhould have made her public entry into Paris. The coronation of the queen was performed with the utmoſt magnificence it was capable of. The

ready related with what reluctance he permitted the ceremony of the queen's coronation to go forward ;

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king was unuſually gay during the ceremony. The king ſaid to her, the duke of Guiſe, and to me alſo; You none of you know me thoroughly: but I ſhall die one of theſe days; and, when you have loſt me, you will find what I really was, and the difference between me and other men. I ſaid to him; Good God, Sire, will you always diſquiet yourſelf thus, and continually talk of your dying ſoon? Theſe expreſſions are not proper. You will ſtill live, pleaſe God, many happy years. There is no happineſs comparable to yours: you are in the flower of your age, in perfect health and ſtrength of body; more loaden with honours than any other mortal; enjoying, with the greateſt tranquillity, the moſt flouriſhing kingdom in the world; loved and even adored by your ſubjects; poſſeſſed of great eſtates, and money in abundance; fine houſes; a beautiful wife; handſome children, growing up apace. What can you wiſh for more? He, ſighing, anſwered, My friend, I muſt loſe them all ſoon, &c."

"It was obſerved, ſay L'Etoile's Memoirs, that, on throwing gold and ſilver medals among the people, according to cuſtom, there was no cry of *God ſave the king*, or *God ſave the queen*." "I ſhall paſs over, continues this writer, the dreams it was reported, both his majeſty and the queen had that night, of a houſe falling on him in the ſtreet called La-Feronnerie, &c. It is an indiſputable fact, that, about ſix months ago, the king being at Zamet's, and having dined there, he retired alone into a room, ſaying he would lie down; and ſent for Thomaſſin, who was eſteemed the moſt celebrated aſtrologer of that time, and it was even ſaid he dealt with the devil, to come to him there: and his majeſty having put ſeveral queſtions to him, on different matters, relating to his perſon and kingdom, Thomaſſin told him, he muſt take care of himſelf in May 1610; and even pointed out to him the day and hour in which he would be killed. But the king making a jeſt of him and his aſtrology, ſometimes pulling him by the hair, and ſometimes by the beard, made him take two or three turns round the room, and ſent him away in this manner. He deſerves to be commended for this; and much more, had he not liſtened to him at all, and baniſhed all ſuch peſts from his court and kingdom." *Anno* 1610. See alſo in *Mezerai's Hiſtory*, in 4to. Paris anno 1667, Vol. III. p. 1447, the different prognoſtications of this prince's death, which came to the knowledge of the public at that time, and ſince.

P. Matthieu obſerves, that the queen waking in the night, in great fright and agitation, ſaid to the king, who inquired the cauſe of it; "I was dreaming ſome body ſtabbed you with a knife, on the ſtair-caſe." "Thank God, replied the king, it is only a dream." The ſame writer, to theſe predictions, adds ſeveral expreſſions of Henry IV. as ſo many inſtances of that ſecret preſage which ariſes in the mind on the approach of ſome inevitable cataſtrophe, or what at leaſt is deemed ſo, after the event has happened;

ſuch

the nearer the moment approached, the more his terrors encreaſed. In this ſtate of overwhelming horror, which at firſt I thought an unpardonable weakneſs, he opened his whole heart to me: his own words will be more affecting than all I can ſay: "Oh! my friend, ſaid he, this coronation "does not pleaſe me: I know not what is the "meaning of it; but, my heart tells me, ſome fa-"tal accident will happen." He ſat down, as he ſpoke theſe words, upon a low chair, which I had cauſed to be made on purpoſe for him, and which was kept always in my cloſet, and, reſigning himſelf up to all the horror of his melancholy apprehenſions, he graſped the caſe of his reading-glaſs hard between his fingers, and continued in a profound reverie; then, ſuddenly ſtarting up, and ſtriking his hands together, he exclaimed; "Par-"dieu, I ſhall die in this city; they will murder "me here; I ſee plainly that they have made my "death their only reſource. Oh! this curſed co-"ronation, it will be the cauſe of my death." "My God, Sire," ſaid I to him one day, "what "a thought have you entertained; if you perſiſt in "it, it is my opinion, that you ought to break off "this coronation, your journey, and your war; if "you wiſh it ſhould be ſo, it is not difficult to ſa-"tisfy you." "Yes," ſaid he at length, after I

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ſuch are thoſe he made uſe of to the queen: "My dear, if this is "not done on Thurſday, after Friday is once paſt you will ſee me "no more; no, on Friday I ſhall bid you adieu." Another time, "Go on, go on, queen regent." To the ſame, retiring to her devotions; "My dear, make confeſſion for yourſelf and me too." To the courtiers, ſhewing them the dauphin; "This is your king." Speaking of the queen's public entry; "I have nothing to do with "it; I ſhall not ſee it."---"Let us not laugh ſo much on Friday, "for we ſhall weep on Sunday, &c." Vol. II. book iv. p. 810, & ſeq. Morizot obſerves, that, at the queen's coronation, the painter, inſtead of enamelling her coat of arms argent, which the houſe of Medicis bears, through ignorance painted it cheſnut, the colour of widows; and, inſtead of palms, he encircled it with twiſted cords, another mark of widowhood. Hen. Mag. p. 51.

had ſeveral times made the ſame propoſal to him, "yes, break off this coronation, and let me never "hear more of it; my mind will then be freed from "thoſe apprehenſions which the advices I have re-"ceived have given riſe to: I ſhall then leave this "city, and have nothing to fear."

"I would not yield to your ſollicitations, added he, "but that it has been foretold to me I ſhould be "murdered at a public ceremony, and in a coach; "and hence proceed my fears." "You never men-"tioned this to me, Sire, replied I; and I have "been often ſurpriſed to hear you cry out when in "a coach, and ſeem ſo much alarmed at a danger "ſo inconſiderable; you whom I have often beheld "unmoved in all the rage of war, amidſt volleys "of cannon and muſquet ſhots, and environed by "ſwords and pikes. However, ſince this notion "affects you to ſuch a degree, I would adviſe you, "Sire, to depart to-morrow: let the coronation be "performed without you, or defer it till ſome other "time; and let it be long ere you return to Paris, "or get into a coach. Shall I ſend directly to No-"tre Dame and St. Denis, to put a ſtop to the pre-"parations, and ſend back the workmen?" I would "conſent to it willingly, ſaid the king; but what "will my wife, who has this coronation ſtrangely "in her head, ſay to it?" "Let her ſay what ſhe "will," reſumed I, finding my propoſal had greatly pleaſed the king: "however, I cannot believe that "ſhe will continue obſtinate, when ſhe knows what "apprehenſions you have of ſome diſaſter happen-"ing."

I DID not wait for any other order, but ſent immediately to put a ſtop to the preparations for the coronation. It is with much regret, that I am obliged to confeſs, that, notwithſtanding all my endeavours, the queen would not give her huſband this ſatisfaction. I ſhall paſs over in ſilence, the prayers, entreaties, and arguments, with which, for three whole days, I endeavoured to move her*. It was Henry's part to yield; and, as in certain moments he was the firſt to condemn himſelf for his fears, he left off ſpeaking to me of the coronation; or by me to the queen. The preparations again went forward, and again his apprehenſions returned. It was in theſe words, which he had perpetually in his mouth, that he expreſſed thoſe apprehenſions: "Ah! my friend, I ſhall never go out of this city: "they will murder me here: this curſed coronation "will be the cauſe of my death." I ſhall never forget thoſe ſad words.

In this affair, there are ſome private circumſtances, which I think it my duty to ſuppreſs. I would carry my ſilence ſtill further, if I did not think it needleſs, in things which my domeſtics and other perſons had ſome knowledge of. The following fact is of that number: Schomberg, who lived with me in ſo great a degree of intimacy that he ſeemed one of the family, had a billet brought to him by a page, as he ſat at table one day, which I obſerved, as it was ſlid into his hand very myſteriouſly. I rallied him upon the billet, alledging that it came from a miſtreſs. He anſwered, that he would aſſure me, without reading it, that it was not what I imagined, and promiſed to ſhew me the contents, of what nature ſoever they were. As ſoon as he roſe from table, he went to a window to read his letter: it was very ſhort; he put it into my hands, ſaying that it came from Mademoiſelle de Gournai; a name that would remove all ſuſpicions of gallantry; adding, that ſhe intreated him to come to her immediately, having ſomething of the utmoſt conſequence to impart to him. He promiſed to return directly, and acquaint me with the affair; and accordingly he came back in half an hour.

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* This overthrows Matthieu's aſſertion, in oppoſition to all other hiſtorians, that the queen was not at all deſirous of being crowned. Ibid. 804.

THIS lady had been informed by a woman, who had belonged to the marchioneſs de Verneuil †, that

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† The author means Jacqueline Le-Voyer, of the village of Orſin, betwixt Epernon and Atlis, wife of Iſaac de Varennes, Eſq; Lord of Coman, D'Eſcoman or Eſcouman: ſhe is moſt known by the firſt name: her hiſtory is an incident, in the proceſs againſt Ravaillac, of too much importance to be paſſed over in ſilence: we ſhall have occaſion to recur to it more than once. “She made a declaration in writing,” ſay the Memoirs for the Hiſt. of France, p. 357, “which contains a very circumſtantial account of Ravaillac's conſpiracy and deſigns, and named the duke of Epernon, and the marchioneſs of Verneuil, as the contrivers of them. Neither the king, the queen, or any of thoſe ſhe addreſſed herſelf to, in order to make a diſcovery of what ſhe knew, would liſten to her; but treated her as a mad woman. On Tueſday the 25th of January 1611, for this proſecution was not determined before the following year was far advanced, the chambers of the parliament met for the examination of La-Coman, when ſeveral perſons were ordered to be taken into cuſtody, and others to attend in perſon. La-Villiers-Hotman, the wife of the preſident St. André, and Charlotte Du-Tillet her ſiſter, appeared. La-Coman ſpoke well and ſenſibly, with great reſolution and firmneſs, and without varying in her anſwers and accuſations; ſhe confirmed what ſhe ſaid with ſuch powerful reaſons, and ſtrong proofs, that her judges were aſtoniſhed at them. She had formerly been in the ſervice of queen Margaret, to whom ſhe applied with intent to make a diſcovery to her of this important conſpiracy and deſign; whereof the queen regent being informed, ſhe called her a wicked woman, who accuſed every body; and ſaid, ſhe did not know but ſhe might at laſt accuſe even her. The reflections ſhe and Du-Fillet caſt on one another on being confronted, on account of their irregularities, were diverting enough. Had La-Coman ſtopt there, ſhe had been ſafe enough; but to go ſuch lengths as ſhe did is too dangerous: for thoſe who accuſe the great, often loſe both their eſtates and life in the attempt, which puts me in fear for her.” There is this note in the margin on this Du-Tillet: “Charlotte Du-Tillet, a woman of intrigue, and confidant of the marchioneſs de Verneuil, was the perſon who informed madame D'Eſcoman of Ravaillac's deſigns.”

“On Sunday the 30th of January, the Marchioneſs de Verneuil, on the depoſitions of La-Coman, was examined by the chief preſident at his own houſe, where I had ordered her to be ſummoned to attend for that purpoſe, which examination laſted from one o'clock 'till five in the afternoon.” Another marginal note on this place ſays, “She was accuſed by madame D'Eſcoman, and was only ordered to attend to be examined, though the matter in queſtion was no leſs than the aſſaſſination of the king, and the higheſt kind of treaſon.”

“On Saturday the 5th of March, the court ſat on the caſe of La-Coman, and the other priſoners accuſed by her of being con-there was actually a conſpiracy formed againſt the king's perſon ; and, enquiring who were the perſons

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“ cerned in the aſſaſſination of the king, when an arret was made, which was ſaid to be like the ſentence of the Areopagites, who, when they found a cauſe too full of difficulties to be determined by them, put off the giving judgment on it for a hundred years : thus the court, finding no ſmall difficulty in this caſe, ordered it to ſtand over for judgment till a more convenient time ; in the interim, opening the doors of the priſon to the accuſed, and keeping La-Coman alone there, who in appearance ought to have been ſet at liberty before any of the reſt ; but the times would not permit it : and the chief preſident himſelf, who was preſent when this order was made, was of this opinion, out of reſpect for the parties accuſed, who nevertheleſs were not acquitted by this arret ; which was no ſmall matter of diſquiet both to them and the ſtate.” There is this note in the margin : “ This arret ordains, that a further information ſhould be taken in this matter ; and that, in the mean time, Stephen Sauvage, valet de chambre to Monſ. D'Entragues the elder, and James Gaudin, accuſed and priſoners in the Conciergerie, ſhould be ſet at liberty. A definitive ſentence was given, on the 31ſt of July following, whereby the marchioneſs de Verneuil, madame Du-Tillet, Gaudin, and Sauvage, are declared innocent, and acquitted of aſſaſſinating the king ; and mademoiſelle D'Eſcoman is condemned, as guilty of falſe accuſation, to be impriſoned for life, all her goods, chattels, and eſtates, to be ſeized and confiſcated, without reſtitution. It is further ordered, that all other proſecutions on this account ſhall ceaſe. This puniſhment, if D'Eſcoman's accuſation was groundleſs, is very gentle.” ib. p. 361. This ſentence againſt her, was under the conſideration of the court ever ſince Saturday the 23d ; and the judges were divided in opinion, nine againſt nine. P. 377.

The account the Merc. Franç. anno 1611, p. 14 & ſeq. gives of this affair of D'Eſcoman's, is directly contrary to L'Etoile's ; and, as that account is ſupported by an unqueſtionable evidence, one cannot refuſe giving credit to it. It is there proved, that this woman, on account of her infamous manner of life, having been ſhut up in the Hôtel Dieu, and being afterwards impriſoned in the Châtelet, where even ſentence of death was pronounced on her, in order to obtain her liberty, and procure herſelf an intereſt in queen Margaret, ſhe invented this calumny ; that having accuſed the marchioneſs of Verneuil of ſending Ravaillac to her with a letter, deſiring her to procure him an interview with mademoiſelle Du-Tillet, and charging Du-Tillet with having admitted that aſſaſſin into her room when ſhe herſelf was preſent ; ſhe was convicted of having been guilty of many falſhoods in the relation of theſe facts ; and, amongſt others, that ſhe had never ſeen, and did not even know Ravaillac ; that ſhe had not indeed ſo much as heard his name before he was brought to the Conciergerie, which is proved from this woman's own words ; that Gaudin, on being confronted with her, abſolutely confounded her ; and, in ſhort, that there was not one of all thoſe that were concerned in it, the woman named the marchioneſs de Verneuil, herſelf, Monſieur N——, and ſome others; upon which Mademoiſelle de Gournai reſolved to give the king notice of the plot, by informing the queen of it, through one of the women of her chamber, named Catherine de Selvage. Mademoiſelle de Gournai, after further reflection, thought not this ſufficient, and caſt her eyes upon M. de Schomberg as a man who might mention the affair directly to his majeſty. M. de Schomberg, after he had acquainted me with theſe circumſtances, confeſſed to me that he was greatly perplexed in what manner to act, and deſired I would give him my advice. The thing was too important to be concealed, and too dangerous to be deſpiſed: but, on the other hand, by diſcloſing it to the king, we expoſed him to the neceſſity of making implacable enemies of all thoſe who were involved in the accuſation; for we knew this prince would not fail to mention them publicly. My wife alone was preſent at our conſultation.

We agreed, at length, that Schomberg ſhould mention it to the king, but with all poſſible circumſpection; and, if his majeſty ſhould deſire to know who the accomplices were, he was was to refer him

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fronted with her, but proved her guilty of falſhood, impoſition, and ſlander.

The author of L'Hiſtoire de la Mere & du Fils, in juſtification of the arret of the parliament, which appears ſo blame-worthy to L'Etoile, ſays, "That auguſt body would have condemned her to be "publicly burnt, had the falſe accuſation, of which ſhe was found "guilty, been of any other nature; but in caſes where the life of "kings is in queſtion, the fear of ſhutting the door againſt ſuch "diſcoveries as may be made, cauſes the rigour of the laws to be diſ"penſed with." Vol. I. p. 154. See a paper reprinted in the 4th Vol. of L'Etoile's new Memoirs, p. 256, entitled, Interrogations for the Examination of madame de Coman, and her Anſwer thereto; in which this letter to mademoiſelle de Gournai and count de Schomberg is mentioned: "ſhe knew ſo well how to manage her diſcourſe, and "ſupported her accuſations in ſo reſolute a manner, that they did "not find ſufficient grounds to put her to death." Mem. de la Reg. de M. de Medicis, Vol. I. p. 74.

to the two women already named, as beſt able to inform him. No one is unacquainted with the event. The woman, from whom Mademoiſelle de Gournai heard all that ſhe had related to M. de Schomberg, being interrogated, firmly maintained her depoſition, and perſiſted in it to her death. This is a circumſtance which will never be forgot by thoſe who endeavoured to draw ſome inferences from the great care that was taken to ſuppreſs all the papers * relating to the trial of the horrid parricide.

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* This ſuppreſſion of the proceedings in the trial of Ravaillac, by the parliament of Paris, is a fact univerſally known. To the reflections thrown on his judges on this account, it has been further added, that none, or, at leaſt, a very ſmall and ſlight examination, was made by them into the manner of the death of ſeveral perſons confined, on this account, in the priſons, which to many appeared to be unnatural; that they neglected to ſummon and interrogate many other perſons, who were capable of giving great lights into this matter; ſuch as the mother of the murderer, who knew very well that he left Angoulême on Eaſter-day, before he had performed the devotions of that feſtival; many of his relations, whom he had named in the courſe of his examination; the pariſh prieſt of St. Severin; father St. Mary Magdalen, of the order of the Bernardines; the capuchins of Angoulême, who had given him a heart made of coſt-mary root in a reliquary, with ſome root of the true croſs, at leaſt they made him believe ſo; and which, they told him, would cure him of a fever he had then got; that they alſo had not examined the ſieur Guillebaut, a canon of Angoulême; father Gilles Oſieres, antient viſiter of the order of cordeliers at Paris; Le Fêvre, another young cordelier; ſeveral of the cardinal Du-Perron's almoners, whom Ravaillac ſaid he knew very well by ſight, but whoſe names he did not know; certain perſons called Béliard, Brétau, Colletet, Du-Bois, de Limoges, &c. It was alſo complained of, that Ravaillac had been ſo careleſsly guarded in priſon, that, during the thirteen days he continued there, all who had a mind were admitted to ſee and talk with him. Another complaint of ſtill greater weight, if the fact be true, is, that at the firſt pull of the horſe at his execution, Ravaillac having deſired ſome one would take his confeſſion as of a dying man, the clerk Voiſin, who took it, wrote it ſo ill, that, though it is ſtill in being, (as it is ſaid) no ſworn notary or ſcrivener has yet been found ſkilful enough to decypher a ſingle word of it.

All theſe conſiderations make an infinite number of people conclude, that the parliament acted in this manner out of fear, that in caſe the truth had been diſcovered and made public, they would have been neceſſitated to proceed with the utmoſt rigour againſt too many, and thoſe too powerful perſons. It would be labour loſt to endeavour to perſuade all thoſe people of the contrary. But after all, ſince

The ceremony of the queen's coronation was performed, in the mean time, with all the magnificence uſual upon ſuch extraordinary occaſions. It was to laſt ſeveral days, and to be terminated by the moſt ſplendid ſhew of all on Sunday the 16th of May †. The king had ſo much complaiſance for the queen as to aſſiſt at a ceremony, which pierced him to the heart; but, when it was over, he thought he ſhould

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ſince, by the ſuppreſſion of the proceedings in this affair, there do not at preſent remain ſufficient lights whereon, with certainty, to form any judgment of the truth, which, even at that time, could never be cleared up, it muſt be owned, that one cannot, without raſhneſs, pretend to determine any thing in this matter at the diſtance of an hundred and thirty years, which have ſince elapſed; and God forbid I ſhould expoſe myſelf to ſuch a reproach. If, in obedience to the laws preſcribed to every author of memoirs, I have ſubmitted to join to my text here, and at the end of this book, whatever I could recollect, from the moſt credible hiſtorians, relating to this particular fact, as I have conſtantly done in reſpect to every hiſtorical relation given in this work, my juſtification, ſuppoſing any to be neceſſary in ſo plain a caſe, will be, that I have ſtated both ſides of the queſtion with equal impartiality: and, on the other ſide, in anſwer to thoſe who may complain that, after all that has been ſaid, nothing is clearly decided, I would ſay, it is no fault of mine that nothing but conjectures can be come at in this matter, and that even thoſe conjectures ſhould frequently deſtroy one another.

† The ceremony of the coronation was performed at St. Denis on Thurſday the 13th of May, le Merc. Franç. Matth. the 9361ſt Vol. of the MSS. royaux, and other hiſtorians give a detail of the magnificence and manner of it. Preparations were made for the queen to make her public entry on the Sunday following, with a pomp ſurpaſſing even that of the coronation. Henry IV. ſaid on Tueſday; "I will lie at St. Denis on Wedneſday; I will return from thence " on Thurſday; I will put my affairs in order on Friday; on Satur- " day I will run at the ring; on Sunday my wife ſhall make her " entry; on Monday my daughter Vendôme ſhall be married; on " Tueſday we will keep the mariage feaſt; and on Wedneſday to " horſe and away." Matth. ib. p. 804. This hiſtorian, ſpeaking of the ceremony of the coronation of St. Denis, ſays: "Henry IV. " was ſurpriſed at the Spaniſh ambaſſador's not taking off his hat " in the church. Cicogne told him, that the late king of Spain " only juſt took off his hat at the elevation of the hoſt, and imme- " diately put it on again, as if he had been ſaluting a gentleman of " five hundred livres a year. On which the king ſaid, If we had " theſe ſentiments of religion we ought to have, we ſhould ſhow ſtill " greater reverence to thoſe myſteries than we do; for we ought to " believe that, after the words of conſecration are pronounced, till " the communion, Jeſus Chriſt is always preſent on the altar."

have nothing more to keep him: and Monday, May 17, was the day appointed for his departure. I ſhould not have ſtaid at Paris ſo long, but a violent pain which I felt in my neck and throat, occaſioned by a wound I had received there many years before, obliged me to have recourſe to my phyſicians, who ordered me to bathe three mornings ſucceſſively in my chamber. I did not envy the happineſs of thoſe who, having protracted their departure out of curioſity to ſee the ceremony of the queen's coronation, ran eagerly to the ſhew: the deep concern it gave to Henry rendered it almoſt as odious to me as to him. The count of Soiſſons alledged, that there was ſome failure in the ceremonial with reſpect to him; and made uſe of this pretence to quit the court in diſguſt †.

THE ceremony for ſome reaſon or other being ſuſpended, on Wedneſday May the 14th, that moſt miſerable day for France, the unfortunate king had deſtined part of it to be ſpent in conference with me, as it was the laſt interview we were likely to have before his departure. I was not ignorant of what he had to ſay to me. A malicious report had been ſpread, that, while in appearance he was preparing to fall upon the houſe of Auſtria with ſuch formidable forces, he had privately entered into an agreement with them; not only to proceed no farther, but alſo to betray all his allies, provided they would conſent that he ſhould keep Cleves for himſelf, and the entire ſucceſſion, which had been the occaſion of the armament. To this his enemies added another condition, which they ſaid he demanded; namely, that Spain ſhould put the prince and the princeſs of Condé into his hands †. Henry was deſirous of convincing me that this report, ſo injurious to his reputation, was abſolutely falſe. It had been likewiſe inſinuated to him, that the reluctance I diſcovered to take upon me the charge of furniſhing the proviſions, was becauſe I had flattered myſelf that he would, of his own accord, and without my ſolicitation, erect the poſt of marſhal-general of the camps and armies into a great office of the crown, and inveſt me with this high dignity: however, I ſolemnly declare, that I never entertained ſuch a thought. The friendſhip this great king expreſſed for me, and the confidence he placed in me, which towards the cloſe of his life was greater than it had ever been, makes it no preſumption in me to declare, that I believe, if ſuch had been my deſire, he would not have refuſed me a favour which, great as it was, was ſtill leſs conſiderable than others he had offered me; nor will I ſcruple to aſſert, that he thought me very capable of ſuch an employment: all that I am doubtful of is, whether he really had any ſuch intentions with regard to me, and whether he was not diſſuaded from them by the artful inſinuations of my enemies, who affirmed, that I had reſolved to quit the care of his finances, as ſoon as I was raiſed to this eminent dignity.

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† "This retreat was differently ſpoke of by different perſons: "nevertheleſs, it is certain that his majeſty, after having granted "him every thing he deſired, againſt his own inclinations, ſent him "word, that whatever he had promiſed him he would perform; "but he might be aſſured, at the ſame time, that he would no "longer hold any place in his favour; and that, having compelled "him to grant what he did not approve of, he ſhould never ſee him "again with pleaſure; which meſſage being delivered to the count, "he immediately mounted his horſe, and, taking the princeſs his "wiſe with him, retired to one of his country ſeats." Mem. pour ſervir a l'Hiſt. de France, anno 1610.

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† "The nuncio finding himſelf at laſt cloſely urged by his majeſty, "who was enquiring of him what was thought at Rome and in "Italy of the war he was going to undertake, anſwered, that thoſe "who had the beſt information were of opinion, that the principal "ſubject of that war was the princeſs of Condé, whom he wanted "to have back. When the king in violent anger, and ſwearing, "not *ventre ſaint gris*, as uſual, but by ----, cry'd out, Yes, moſt cer"tainly I do want to have her back, and I will have her back; no one "can or ſhall hinder it, not even God's lieutenant on earth." Mem. pour l'Hiſt. de France, anno 1610. Theſe words ought not to prevent us from conſidering, as a calumny, the report to which ſome writers have too lightly given credit, that the chief inducement Henry IV. had to commence ſo important a war, was to oblige Spain to deliver the prince, or rather the princeſs of Condé, up to him; which ſeems to me not to ſtand in need of any proof. No leſs unjuſt and malicious is this other charge, that this prince had agreed with the court of Spain not to puſh his deſign any further, on condition it would give up the ſtates in conteſt to him.

It was therefore, I preſume, to make me ſome new inſtances with reſpect to furniſhing the proviſions, that Henry ſent La-Varenne, on Wedneſday morning, to tell me I muſt meet him in the Tuillieres, where he had a deſire to walk with me alone. La-Varenne found me bathing, and perceiving that I was preparing, notwithſtanding, to obey his majeſty's orders, he prevented me, ſaying, he was very ſure that the king would come himſelf to the arſenal, when he knew I was indiſpoſed; and that he would be very angry with me, if I expoſed myſelf to any danger by going out, when there was no neceſſity for it. "Only ſtay, added he, till I have ſpoke "to him, and I will return immediately and tell "you what he ſays." Accordingly he came back in half an hour. "Monſieur, ſays he, the king "deſires that you will finiſh your bathing, and "forbids you to go abroad to-day: for M. Du-"Laurens aſſures him, that your health will ſuffer "if you do. His majeſty is going into the city, "for which he will tell you his reaſon to-morrow "morning † at five o'clock, when he will be, with-"out fail, at the arſenal to ſettle all affairs with "you; for he is reſolved to ſet out on Monday at "any rate. He ſays, that what you ſaid to him "concerning his paſſage, and every other part of "his deſign, is juſt; and that nothing ſhall have "power to alter his intentions, but ſome misfor-"tune either to your perſon or his own (thoſe "were his words). And he commands you, con-

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† Henry IV. in reality did not intend to go to the arſenal till the next morning; but he unfortunately changed that intention in the afternoon.

“ tinued La-Varenne, to receive him to-morrow “ in your night-gown and night-cap, that you may “ not ſuffer any inconvenience from your bathing: “ he declares, if he finds you dreſt, he will be very “ angry.” La-Varenne, after he had thus delivered the king's meſſage, added from himſelf, that his majeſty had taken my advice, and ſent away the letter which had been written to the archduke, tho' he thought it an uſeleſs piece of formality. “ For I am reſolved, ſaid this prince, to make my-“ ſelf be believed one way or other.” My ſervants have ſince told me, that, when La-Varenne quitted my apartment, they obſerved an unuſual ſadneſs upon his countenance, the cauſe of which they could not comprehend; nor indeed could he himſelf account for it.

At four o'clock in the afternoon, as I had juſt entered my wardrobe, I heard Caſtenet, and afterwards my wife, utter a great cry, and that inſtant my whole houſe reſounded with this mournful exclamation: “ Ah! my God, all is “ loſt! France is undone!” I went out precipitately, undreſt as I was. “ Ah! Monſieur,” cried they on all ſides, “ the king has juſt been “ dangerouſly wounded in his ſide with a knife.” It was not poſſible for me to doubt a moment whether the dreadful news was true. St. Michel † entered immediately: he had been a witneſs almoſt of the blow, and brought the knife with which it was given, ſtill reeking with blood. "Oh!" cried I, raiſing my hands and eyes to heaven, in a diſtraction no words can deſcribe, "this is what "this poor prince always apprehended: Oh! my "God, have pity upon him, upon us, and the "ſtate: 'tis done; he is murdered—God would "not have permitted ſo cruel an accident, but to "let looſe all his wrath upon France, and to deli"ver her into foreign hands *."

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† St. Michel was one of his majeſty's gentlemen in ordinary, who had followed him. He had drawn his ſword to kill the aſſaſſin, when the duke of Epernon called out to him, and to the footmen, who had the ſame deſign, to ſtop at the peril of their lives: to ſecure his perſon, but to take care not to do any thing more. “ The “ duke recollected,” ſays the hiſtorian of his life, “ the diſpleaſure “ he had conceived at, and the fault that had been found with thoſe “ who killed James Clement, &c.” p. 238. P. Matthieu adds, “ That St. Michel only ſnatched the knife out of Ravaillac's hands: “ that count de Curſon ſtruck him on the throat with the pommel “ of his ſword; and that La-Pierre, exempt of the guards, ſeized “ him, and put him into the hands of the footmen, who delivered “ him up to Montigny.”

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* One would imagine, that upon a fact ſo public and ſo recent as the aſſaſſination of Henry IV. there would be found a perfect conformity in the hiſtories and memoirs of that time; yet many of the cotemporary writers do not agree either as to the number of the perſons who were in the coach with this prince when he was aſſaſſinated, the wounds he received, nor many other circumſtances no leſs eſſential. In order therefore to make this recital in a manner equally faithful and complete, it is neceſſary to collect and join together what has been ſaid on this ſubject by Meſſieurs de Péréfixe, Matthieu, L'Etoile, the continuator of Thou, and the French Mercury for the year 1610.

"The night before this moſt unhappy day his majeſty could take no reſt, and was in continual uneaſineſs. In the morning he told thoſe about him, that he had not ſlept, and that he was very much diſordered. Thereupon M. de Vendôme entreated his majeſty to take care of himſelf that day, and not to go out; for that day was fatal to him." "I ſee, anſwered the king, that you have conſulted the almanack, and have heard of the prediction of La Broſſe, from my couſin the count of Soiſſons: he is an old fool, and you, who are young, have ſtill leſs wiſdom." The duke of Vendôme then went to the queen, who likewiſe begged the king not to go out of the Louvre that day; but he made her the ſame anſwer." P. de L'Etoile.

"His majeſty afterwards went to hear maſs at the convent of the Bernardine monks, whither the infamous parricide followed him with an intention to murder him; and, as he has ſince confeſſed, would have given him the ſtroke in the chapel, but M. de Vendôme coming unexpectedly between, he was prevented." Ibid.

"It was obſerved, that the king was more fervent than uſual in his devotions, and continued longer in prayer that very day than he was accuſtomed to do: Even in the night preceding it, when his attendants thought he was aſleep, he was upon his knees in bed at prayer; and, as ſoon as he roſe, retiring to his cloſet for the ſame purpoſe, they, thinking he ſtaid longer than uſual, interrupted him, he was angry." "Why will theſe men, ſaid he, always oppoſe what is for my good?" Ibid.

"After dinner the king laid down upon his bed, to try if he could ſleep; but not being able to reſt, he got up again, penſive, melancholy, and diſturbed. He walked a little about his chamber, and again threw himſelf upon his bed; ſtill reſtleſs and unquiet, he roſe and aſked the exempt of the guard what hour of the day it was? The exempt told him the clock had ſtruck four; and added, "Sire, I perceive your majeſty is penſive and uneaſy: you would be better if you would take the air." The king ſeemed pleaſed at this motion, and replied, "You have adviſed well: order my coach to be got ready: I will go to the arſenal to ſee the duke of Sully, who is indiſpoſed, and bathes today." Ibid.

Matthieu recounting his diſcourſe, both before and after dinner, adds, "He could not ſtay one moment in any place, nor conceal his irreſolution and diſorder: and in the midſt of thoſe agitations, he ſaid to the queen, "I know not what to do: I have no great inclination to go to the arſenal, becauſe I ſhall put myſelf into a paſſion." "Do not go then, Monſieur, ſaid the queen: ſend ſome other thither; you are now in a good humour, why ſhould you go to make yourſelf uneaſy?" He went towards the window, and, ſtriking his forehead with his hand, "My God, ſaid he, there is ſomething here which ſtrangely troubles me: I know not what is the matter; I cannot go from hence." Ravaillac, hearing that he enquired if his coach was ready, muttered to himſelf; "*I have thee, thou art loſt.*" P. Matthieu.

"As he was going into his coach, M. de Vitry approached, and aſked his majeſty if it was his pleaſure that he ſhould attend him." "No, replied the king; but go whither I have ordered you. "Permit me, Sire, ſaid Vitry, to ſend the guards with your majeſty." "No, returned the king, I will neither have you nor your guards: I will have none about me." Then entering his coach, and reflecting, as it is ſuppoſed upon the fatal predictions of the day, which they had put into his head, he aſked what day of the month it was. "Sire, ſaid one, it is the 13th." "No, ſaid another, it is the 14th." "You are right, ſaid the king; you know your almanack better than him;" and laughing, "Between the 13th and 14th," ſaid he, and then ordered the coach to go on." L'Etoile.

"He ſaid to the coachman Carry me but from hence. When he came over againſt the Hôtel de Longueville, he ſent back all his attendants; and, being aſked where the coach ſhould go, he ſaid to the Croix-du-Tiroir; and, when there, he ordered it to drive to the church-yard of St. Innocent. Ravaillac ſtaid a long time at the Louvre, ſitting upon the ſtones at the gate, where the footmen wait for their maſters. He deſigned to have given the blow between the two gates, the place where he ſtood affording him ſome advantage: but he found the duke of Epernon on that ſide where he expected the king would have been." Matthieu.

This prince was ſeated on the back part of the coach, and unfortunately (the weather being very fine) would have all the curtains drawn up, that he might ſee, as he paſſed, the preparations which were making all over the city for the queen's public entry. On his right hand ſat the duke of Epernon: the marſhals de Lavardin and Roquelaure were near the right boot of the coach; the duke of Montbazon and the marquis de La-Force on his left hand; and near the left boot, oppoſite to him, ſat the marquis de Mirebeau, and Du Pleſſis-Liancourt, his firſt maſter of the horſe. Vitry, the captain of his guards, was, by the king's order, gone to the palace to haſten the preparations for the queen's entry, and had left all the guards at the Louvre; ſo that his majeſty was attended only by a ſmall number of gentlemen on horſeback, and ſome of his footmen. Péréfixe, Matthieu, L'Etoile, N. Rigault, ibid.

The coach turned from the ſtreet St. Honoré into that called Féronnerie, which was then very narrow, and made more ſo by the little ſhops erected againſt the wall of the church-yard of St. Innocent. A little embarraſſment was occaſioned by the meeting of two carts, one loaden with wine, the other with hay; ſo that the coach was obliged to ſtop in a corner of the ſtreet, over againſt the ſtudy of a certain notary, whoſe name was Poutrain. The footmen took a nearer way, that they might with leſs difficulty come up with the coach at the end of the ſtreet; ſo that there were only two which followed the coach, and one of theſe went to make way for it to go on, while the other in the mean time took that opportunity to faſten his garter. Ibid.

Ravaillac, who had followed the coach from the Louvre, perceiving that it ſtopped, and that there was no perſon near it, advanced to that ſide where he obſerved the king ſat. His cloak being wrapt round his left arm, ſerved to conceal the knife, which he held in his hand; and ſliding between the ſhops and the coach, as if he was attempting to paſs by, like others, he ſupported one foot upon one of the ſpokes of the wheel, and the other upon a ſtone, and, drawing a knife edged on both ſides, gave the king a wound a little above the heart, between the third and fourth rib. His majeſty had juſt then turned towards the duke of Epernon, and was reading a letter; or, as others ſay, leaning towards the marſhal Lavardin, to whom he was whiſpering. Henry, feeling himſelf ſtruck, cried out, "I am wounded;" and in the ſame inſtant, the aſſaſſin perceiving that the point of his knife had been ſtopped by a rib, he repeated the blow with ſuch quickneſs, that not one of thoſe, who were in the coach, had time to oppoſe, nor even to perceive it. Henry, by raiſing his arm, gave a fairer aim for the ſecond blow, which, according to Péréfixe and L'Etoile, went directly to his heart; and, according to Rigault and the French Mercury, near the auricle of the heart; ſo that the blood guſhing out of his mouth, and from his wound, the unhappy prince expired, breathing a deep ſigh; or, as Matthieu aſſerts, pronouncing with a faint and dying voice, theſe words: "It is nothing." The murderer aimed a third ſtroke at him, which the duke of Epernon received in his ſleeve. Ibid.

It is the opinion of the author of the French Mercury, that Henry IV. died at the firſt blow, "Which, ſaid he, entering between the fifth and ſixth rib, pierced the vein within, round the auricle of the heart, and reached to the vena cava, which, being cut, that great prince was in an inſtant deprived of ſpeech and life. The ſecond ſtroke only grazed the ſkin, and made no impreſſion." French Mercury.

The writer who has given us the life of the duke of Epernon, thinks, it muſt be confeſſed, in a manner very ſingular. He aſſerts, but without any proof to ſupport his aſſertion, that the duke of Epernon, who ſaw the ſecond blow aimed at the king, raiſed his arm to parry it, and received it, in part, upon the ſleeve of his coat, which was cut. He doubtleſs meant to exalt his hero by relating this circumſtance; but certainly he judged ill to add, that the aſſaſſin, after this ſecond blow, had time to ſtrike a third, more dangerous than the ſecond; and that the king received it full. Strange; that the duke of Epernon ſhould ſo plainly perceive the firſt of theſe blows, as to be able to parry it in part, from himſelf, and the reſt who were in the coach, and yet could not prevent the following blow. The hiſtorian here has proved too much, and but that, happily for him, it is eaſy to convict him of his error, his account might well be turned into an accuſation of the duke of Epernon. Life of the duke of Epernon, part 2d, p. 238.

"It is a moſt amazing thing, that not one of the lords, who were in the coach with the king, ſhould have ſeen the aſſaſſin give the blow; and, if that infernal monſter had thrown away his knife, they would not have known whom to charge with it: but he ſtill held it in his hand, as if to ſhew it, and gloried in the greateſt and moſt horrid of all aſſaſſinations that ever was perpetrated." Péréfixe ſays the ſame; and this conduct of Ravaillac's is more conformable to the character we have of him, than what the continuator of De Thou relates: that it was the extreme agitation and diſorder of his mind, which prevented his flying, or dropping the poignard. "He confeſſed, ſays Matthieu, that he ſtruck the knife into the king's body, as into a bottle of hay." L'Etoile, ibid.

"The ſix lords, who were in the coach, got out immediately with ſuch precipitation, that they hindered each other from ſeizing the parricide. One of them perceiving that the king ſpoke no more, and that the blood came guſhing from his mouth, cried out, "The king is dead." Theſe words immediately occaſioned a great tumult. The people, who were in the ſtreets, threw themſelves into the neareſt ſhops, one upon another, with ſuch terror and diſmay, as if the city had been taken. The duke of Epernon ſuddenly bethought himſelf of ſaying, that the king was only wounded, and had fallen into a ſwoon. They deſired ſome wine; and, while ſome of the inhabitants ran eagerly to get it, they ſhut up the coach doors, and told the people, that the king was only wounded; and that they were carrying him in haſte to the Louvre to get his wound dreſſed." French Mercury, ibid.

"I ran like one deprived of reaſon, and, mounting the firſt horſe I found, galloped to the Louvre. When I came to the Hôtel de Longueville, I met M. de Belancourt returning from the Louvre, who ſaid to me, "He is dead." I rode on as far as the rails, where the French and Swiſs guards were then placed; their pikes lowered. M. Le-Grand and I got through, and ran to the king's cloſet, and ſaw him extended on his bed. M. De-Vic, counſellor of ſtate, was ſitting by him on the ſame bed, and had laid his croſs of the order upon his mouth, putting him in mind of God. Milon, his firſt phyſician, was ſitting near the bed-ſide weeping, and the ſurgeons who attended to dreſs his wound; but he was already dead. We fancied we heard him ſigh, but it was wind; upon which the firſt phyſician cried out, "Ah! it is over; he is gone!" M. Le-Grand, as ſoon as he entered, kneeled at the ſide of the bed, and held one of his hands, which he kiſſed. As for me, I threw myſelf at his feet, which I held embraced, weeping bitterly. M. de Guiſe came in alſo, and embraced him, &c. Memoirs of Baſſompierre, Vol. I. p. 297.

"The queen was in her cloſet when this ſad news was brought to her, and, wild with grief, came out immediately to ſee him whom ſhe honoured moſt in the world, deprived of life; but M. the chancellor, who was then in council, and had heard the news there, going up to her apartment, met her as ſhe was coming out, and ſtopped her." "Alas!" ſaid ſhe, as ſoon as ſhe ſaw him, "the king is dead." He, without betraying any emotion, replied, "Your majeſty muſt pardon me, the kings of France never die." Then entreating her to return to her cloſet, "We muſt take care, ſaid he to her, that our tears do not ruin our affairs; we muſt reſerve them for another time: we have need of remedies, and not of grief." French Mercury, ibid.

"At five o'clock in the evening it was no where certainly known, except at the Louvre, that the king was dead, not even in the quarter de La-Féronnerie, where he was killed: they thought he had been wounded only. The report reached the Auguſtins before audience was over; the noiſe and confuſed murmurs of the perſons who came into the court oppoſite to the hall of the great chamber, encreaſed every moment; and at length reached the ears of M. de Blanemeſnil, ſecond preſident of the great chamber, who was at that time hearing a cauſe pleaded in the hall: ſtruck with this noiſe, he roſe up as if to collect the opinions of the judges upon it; but, inſtead of ſpeaking to them on this ſubject, he went back to the great chamber: the reſt, perſuaded that this noiſe was occaſioned by ſome fatal accident, roſe from their ſeats, and broke off the pleadings. Immediately they ſent for the king's counſellors of parliament, and deputed them to the Louvre to know the ſtate of affairs, and the will of his majeſty: in the mean time, the princes, dukes, and great lords, who were at Paris, haſtened to the Louvre to attend the king as uſual. The ſieur de Vitry was ordered to aſſemble all the deceaſed king's children in a chamber, particularly the young king; and to ſuffer no one to approach them. The dukes of Guiſe and Epernon were directed to get as many of the nobility as they could find, to mount their horſes, and ride through the city; and tell the people, that the king was not dead, but only wounded. Le-Jay, lieutenant civil, and Sanguin, the lord-mayor, had orders to ſhut all the city gates; to poſſeſs themſelves of the keys; raiſe all their officers; and to prevent all emotions and mobs in the city. The guards which were in the ſuburbs, received orders to come and poſt themſelves upon the pont-neuf, in the ſtreet Dauphiné, and near the Auguſtins, in order to ſurround the parliament, and force them, if neceſſary, to declare the queen regent. The king's counſellor of the parliament, returning from the Louvre to the arſenal, found M. the firſt preſident there, who had been brought in a chair, to whom, and to the chambers aſſembled, having confirmed the report of the king's death, they began to conſult upon the requeſt brought them by the king's counſellors. M. de Guiſe and M. de Epernon came afterwards into the great chamber, being ſent by the queen to ſee what was doing there, &c." L'Etoile, Péréfixe, ibid.

" About nine o'clock the ſame night, a great number of the lords rode through the city, and, as they paſſed, ſaid to the people, the king is coming; he is well, God be thanked for it. It being night, the people thought the king was in that company, and cried aloud, *Vive le roi.* This cry ſpreading from one quarter to another, the whole city reſounded with, *Vive le roi.* It was only in the quarter of the Louvre, and that of the Auguſtins, where the truth was known." Ibid.

" At night they dreſt the king's body, and waſhed him with the ſame ceremony as if he had been alive. M. Du-Maine gave him his ſhirt, M. Le-Grand ſerved him, and I likewiſe was ordered to ſerve him, and to repreſent M. de Bouillon." M. Baſſompierre, ibid.

" Saturday, May the 15th, the king's body was opened in the preſence of ſix and twenty phyſicians and ſurgeons; all the parts of which were found to be in ſo good a ſtate, that according to the courſe of nature, they judged he might have lived thirty years longer. His heart was ſmall, but thick, and of cloſe texture, and ſurpriſingly ſound: his ſtomach, as the phyſicians and ſurgeons ſaid, was the ſtrongeſt that had been ever ſeen: his lungs were grown a little to his left ſide." Baſſompierre, ibid.

" His entrails were ſent immediately to St. Denis, without any pomp. The jeſuits demanded the heart, which they interred in their chapel of La-Flêche; the body embalmed and laid in a leaden coffin, incloſed in another of wood, and covered with cloth of gold, was placed under a canopy in the king's chamber, with two altars on each ſide, at which maſs was ſaid during eighteen days ſucceſſively, after which it was carried to St. Denis, &c." Péréfixe, ibid.

See in the ſame hiſtorians ſeveral other intereſting particulars, as well with reſpect to what paſſed in the parliament, and in different parts of Paris, as upon the funeral ceremony obſerved on this occaſion. Upon this laſt article, conſult alſo the royal MSS. Vol 9361.

The memoirs of that time afford a great number of obſervations, and curious particulars, relating to the aſſaſſination of Henry IV. which we cannot diſpenſe with ourſelves from annexing to the text of our Memoirs. The number and diverſity of them is all that perplexes us; for with reſpect to the perſons who are concerned in them; namely, the jeſuits, the duke of Epernon, and ſeveral of the principal lords of the kingdom, the marchioneſs of Verneuil, and the party ſuppoſed to be headed by her, the officers of the queen's houſhold, and many others; theſe circumſtances are ſo far from doing any injury to their memories, that it will be readily granted their intereſt requires that they ſhould neither be ſuppreſt or diſguiſed; for, ſince all the malignity of their enemies has never been able to prove one ſingle fact againſt them, it neceſſarily follows, that what has been ſaid was mere calumny, invented by wicked and deſigning perſons.

One general remark, and which is equally applicable to all, is ſufficient to prove what I have aſſerted, that thoſe accuſations were founded on calumny only; and this is, that Ravaillac never accuſed, or gave the leaſt room for ſuſpecting that any of thoſe perſons were concerned in the king's aſſaſſination. He conſtantly maintained, that no one was privy to his deſign, which he had conceived upon being told, that the king was going to make war upon the pope. He never varied from this declaration, and, when he was put to the torture, he ſaid the ſame as he had done at his trial. The moſt dreadful pains could not force him to alter his depoſition: he proteſted, and repeated this proteſtation upon the ſcaffold: That he never had either an accomplice or confidant. "When he was ready to expire, he turned to his confeſſor, and deſired he would give him abſolution; for he had no more to ſay. This the prieſt refuſed, telling him, that it was forbid to thoſe who, like him, had been guilty of high treaſon, unleſs he diſcloſed his accomplices. "Give it me, ſaid Ravaillac, upon condition that the declaration I have made, that I had no accomplices, be true." "I will give it you upon that condition, replied the confeſſor; but aſſure yourſelf, if you tell a lye in theſe moments, your ſoul, at its ſeparation from your body, will be carried directly to hell." "I accept and receive it upon that condition, ſaid Ravaillac." And theſe were the laſt words he ſpoke to Meſſieurs de Filleſac and Gamache, two men of great candour and honeſty, and the moſt able doctors of the Sorbonne." Words which deſerve great notice, ſince they are recorded by him, who, of all the writers on this ſubject, has ſhewn moſt prejudice and malice. Memoirs for a Hiſtory of France, page 323.

After this deciſive remark, I ſhall begin with what relates to the jeſuits, who have been leſs ſpared than any of the others, and whom our author in the following book attacks the firſt, though he does not name them. But here I think myſelf obliged to relate what appears a very ſingular confeſſion in a great critic, who profeſſes that he does not fear the ſociety, and will ſpare no one whatever. "I had the curioſity, ſays he, to read the anſwer made by the jeſuits to the accuſations of their enemies, their reply to that, and the jeſuits farther vindication of themſelves; and it appeared to me, that in many caſes their accuſers were at a loſs, which perſuades me that many things have been charged upon them, for which there were no proofs, but eaſily believed at the inſtigation of prejudiced perſons." In effect, there is nothing more ſolid, or better founded, in the declamations of Morizot, and a great number of anonymous writers. Bayle's Select Letters, Vol. I. Letter 230.

I ſhall now proceed to the examination of ſome words, attributed to a jeſuit in a conference with Ravaillac: *My friend, do not accuſe good men.* "Father Cotton went likewiſe to Ravaillac, and bid him take care of accuſing the innocent; words which did not paſs unnoticed. He afterwards would have perſuaded him, if he could, that he was a proteſtant, ſaying, that he could never believe that a Roman catholic was capable of committing ſo horrid an action: but Ravaillac derided father Cotton, though a jeſuit, as well as the reſt, whom he ſent away with jeſts and pleaſantry. "You would be aſtoniſhed, ſaid he to ſome of them who were queſtioning him, if I ſhould tell you, that it was yourſelf who ſet me on." He did not ſay this to father Cotton; for, wicked as he was, he had ſome ſcruples of conſcience remaining that would not ſuffer him to ſlander the brothers of the ſociety." Journal of the reign of Henry IV. anno 1610.

Peter Matthieu, in his particular Hiſtory of the death of Henry IV. p. 116, ſays, "That the queen believing, if the inhuman parricide could be led to repent of his crime, he would more freely own who they were that urged him to commit it, thought it neceſſary that he ſhould be viſited by the doctors and clergy, who might put his mind into ſuch a frame, that he would have greater fears of eternal than temporal torments." Father Cotton therefore might be of the number of theſe eccleſiaſtics; but the author does not mention him in particular, and is wholly ſilent with reſpect to the words which have been attributed to him. He does not tell us that this father, when he accoſted Ravaillac, called him, *my friend.* The prior of Orleans ſays not a word of this fact in his life of father Cotton, where it was natural for him to mention it, and where he has been as particular, with reſpect to this father, as Matthieu has been in every thing relating to the death of Henry the Great.

"Two circumſtances, ſays Mézerai, were obſerved, of which the reader may judge as he pleaſes; one was, that, when Ravaillac was ſeized, ſeven or eight men came up to him with ſwords in their hands, and ſaid loudly, that he ought to be ſlain directly; but they immediately concealed themſelves in the croud: the other, that the parricide was not carried to priſon at firſt, but was put into the hands of Montigny, and remained two days in the Hôtelde Rais, where he was ſo careleſsly guarded, that all ſorts of people were allowed to ſpeak to him: among others, an eccleſiaſtic, who had received great obligations from the deceaſed king, accoſting him, called him *friend*, and bid him take care not to accuſe good men." Mézerai, it is plain, has copied the firſt of theſe obſervations from P. Matthieu, who ſays that it was the baron de Courtaumar, who, drawing his ſword againſt theſe men, forced them to ſhelter themſelves in the crowd: but I do not ſee what inference is to be drawn from the former of theſe two facts related by Mézerai, except that thoſe men, tranſported with rage and grief for the death of the beſt of kings, were eager to puniſh the impious aſſaſſin; and as for the other fact, after what has been juſt ſaid in the foregoing remark, it muſt be allowed to be very doubtful and hazardous, upon a ſuppoſition that by the eccleſiaſtic, who had great obligations to the king, the author means father Cotton: but indeed, if this father did go to ſee Ravaillac, and if he really ſaid thoſe words, *My friend do not accuſe good men*, what ought to be inferred from an expreſſion of gentleneſs and chriſtian charity, which neither directly nor indirectly preſents any thing criminal to the mind. Abr. Hiſt. and Chron. Vol. III. p. 1450.

Here follows, what is ſtill, in different writings, to be found againſt the jeſuits on this occaſion: "Father D'Aubigny, who had confeſſed Ravaillac, was privately interrogated by the firſt preſident upon the ſecret confeſſion, but he could draw nothing from him except this: that God, who to ſome men had given the gift of languages, to others the gift of prophecy, revelation, &c. had on him beſtowed the gift of forgetfulneſs of confeſſions. Moreover, added he, we, who are eccleſiaſtics, know nothing of the world: we do not mix in its affairs, or heed what paſſes in it." "Rather, replied the firſt preſident, you know too much, and are too far concerned in its buſineſs; and, if you were not more ſo than you own you are, things had gone better." Memoirs for a Hiſtory of France, ib. p. 320, 321.

Theſe laſt circumſtances relating to father D'Aubigny, are certainly the moſt ſevere of all that have been urged againſt the jeſuits. It was well known, that Ravaillac, in his depoſitions, acknowledged that he was acquainted with this jeſuit; that he had been preſent when he ſaid maſs; that he had imparted to him his viſions; the trouble of his mind, &c. He was confronted with this father, who maintained to Ravaillac himſelf, that he had never ſeen him, and that all he had ſaid concerning him was falſe. The French Mercury, far more deſerving to be credited than any of the writers I have quoted, becauſe the author ſpeaks ſo fully and with ſo much clearneſs of this affair, that one ſees, in a manner, the whole proceedings of the trial; he, after giving a minute account of every circumſtance of their examination, adds, "Father D'Aubigny ſaid to Ravaillac, that he was very wicked; and that, after perpetrating ſo horrid a fact, he ought not to accuſe any one falſly, nor add to the number of his ſins." Ravaillac being told, that, if he had any charge to bring againſt father D'Aubigny, he muſt do it then, replied, that he had not any; that he looked upon him to be an honeſt man, and a good prieſt; and that he would believe him. In like manner the ſaid D'Aubigny having notice given him to make his objections againſt the witneſs, and that according to the ordinance, he would not be admitted to make them, if not immediately, he ſaid he had no more to ſay, but that he was a wicked man, and a moſt audacious liar." French Mercury, anno 1610.

Ravaillac's ſilence to theſe reproaches may well paſs for a conviction of the calumny. This circumſtance of the trial may be ſeen at large in the book itſelf. Matthieu ſays it was Servin, the king's advocate, who interrogated father D'Aubigny, and that this was the anſwer: "That ever ſince he had, by the orders of his ſuperiors, quitted preaching to apply himſelf wholly to hearing confeſſions, God had beſtowed the ſingular grace upon him of effacing immediately from his memory whatever was ſaid to him under the ſeal of confeſſion." But this writer, though an enemy of the jeſuits, does not mention the firſt preſident's malicious reply to him; and doubtleſs he is more deſerving of belief, than the Memoirs for the Hiſtory of France; becauſe he was living at that time, and was moſt particularly intereſted in the memory of Henry IV. who had honoured him with his favour. Paſquier, the great enemy of the jeſuits, by not accuſing them of any thing, ſhews plainly enough, that he believed them innocent. Hiſtory of Henry IV. ib. Letters of Nicholas Paſquier.

“ On Sunday, May 23, Father Portugais, a cordelier, and ſome curates of Paris; among others, the curates of the pariſhes of St. Bartholomew and St. Paul, in dark ambiguous words, and hints ſcarcely intelligible, taxed the jeſuits with being accomplices in the king's aſſaſſination, arguing againſt them from their own books and writings; namely, thoſe of Mariana and Becanus. It was alſo propoſed, ſays the ſame author whom I now quote, to forbid the jeſuits the public pulpits. However, they went no farther than to order Mariana's book to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman, which was done accordingly, June 8, before the church of Notre Dame. This book openly defended the deed of brother Clement, and has been twice printed; the firſt time in folio, the ſecond in octavo. In the firſt edition, he calls this brother, *æternum Galliæ decus*; but theſe three words are left out in the ſecond edition, which I have before me.” Memoirs for the Hiſtory of France, ib. p. 525.

If all the authors who have written upon the ſame principles with thoſe of Mariana and Becanus, were to be accuſed of having contributed to the king's murder, “ A criminal proceſs might be entered againſt John Petit, a doctor of the Sorbonne, whoſe opinions were rejected by the council of Conſtance; likewiſe againſt he clebrated John Gerſon, James Almain, Richer, John Boucher of the ſame college and ſociety. Can they be ignorant that an extraordinary aſſembly was held among the doctors of the Sorbonne, to proceed to the apotheoſis of James Clement, the aſſaſſinator of Henry III. and that among the great number of doctors, which compoſed the aſſembly, only one, named John Poitevin, was againſt it? In thoſe miſerable times, a furious hatred and miſguided zeal extinguiſhed the natural lights of reaſon; and however revolting that doctrine might be, which teaches that it is ſometimes lawful to murder kings, however oppoſite to ſcripture and reaſon, yet, to the ſhame of humanity, and the diſgrace of religion, that doctrine prevailed. Mariana, a Spaniſh jeſuit, in a book entitled De Rege & Regis Inſtitutione, held in effect that it was ſometimes allowable to murder tyrants, though elſewhere he teaches, that a lawful prince cannot be killed or deprived of his authority, by an individual. The enemies of the jeſuits advance, that it was from this book Ravaillac had taken his firſt leſſon, which he practiſed but too well. It is certain, however, that he never read the book, knew nothing of it, and did not underſtand Latin well enough to read it; but theſe reaſonings are the effects of paſſion and prejudice. Father Aquaviva, to hinder the raſhneſs of ſome writers from raiſing ſuch calumnies againſt the jeſuits for the future, on the 8th of July forbad all the ſubjects of the ſociety, upon pain of being excommunicated and ſuſpended from exerciſing any of the ſacred functions, to ſpeak or write any thing which could authorize, in any manner, or under any pretence, the parricide of kings, whom, by the law of God, ſays he, we are commanded to honour and reſpect, as ſacred perſons placed by his hands upon the throne." Chronol. and Dogm. Vol. I. pag. 115, and following.

What is here ſaid of Mariana may with equal juſtice be applied to Becan; but, among all theſe accuſations, I ſee only one in which there is any probability; which is that drawn from the book of this Spaniſh jeſuit, condemned by the parliament as being capable of arming ſubjects againſt their ſovereign: but in reality what ought to be inferred from thence to the prejudice of the French jeſuits, what proofs could a book furniſh againſt them, which was written by a foreigner, and in the year 1606 publicly condemned as a moſt pernicious piece, and even rejected by the jeſuits themſelves?

The queen, who was deſirous that Father Cotton and the abbe Du-Bois, the declared enemy of that father and the whole ſociety, ſhould be reconciled, permitted him to have a conference with that abbe, which laſted four hours, at the houſe of the lieutenant-civil; but, not being able to agree, father Cotton, to take him at ſome diſadvantage, at length aſked him if he thought the jeſuits had been the cauſe of the late king's aſſaſſination, and if he believed that he had killed him. "No," replied the abbe Du-Bois. "For, if I thought ſo, I would this inſtant, ſaid he, ſwearing a great oath, hoiſt you up by the throat and ſtrangle you, and then throw you out of the window." Father Cotton afterwards aſked him if the jeſuits were not catholics. "Oh yes, anſwered he, ſuch catholics as the devil is." Journal of the reign of Henry IV by P. L'Etoile, p. 233.

"On Tueſday, May 25, there was a quarrel betwixt M. de Loménie and father Cotton, in full council. Loménie told him, that it was he and his ſecretary who had murdered the king; whereupon the members of the council repreſenting to him that he ought to be more moderate in his expreſſions, he ſaid, that his grief for the death of his good maſter might force him into ſome intemperance of language, but that he would not ſpeak but in the queen's preſence. At the ſame time Béringhen quarrelled with De-Lorme, firſt phyſician to the queen, who ſupported the jeſuits, and ſaid things as ſevere to him as Loménie had done to father Cotton."

Is it ſurpriſing that perſons under the influence of paſſion, and in thoſe moments when they ſuffer themſelves to be carried away by their conjectures, prejudices, and particular enmities, ſhould utter invectives, and make reproaches which they cannot prove? At ſuch times they often ſay things which they do not believe, and which, when their reaſon is leſs clouded, they inwardly diſavow.

John Du-Bois, abbe of Beaulieu, being a ſhort time after obliged to quit the kingdom, was arreſted at Rome, and put into the priſons of the inquiſition, either at the ſuit of the jeſuits, or of the procurator-general of celeſtin monks; for he had formerly been of that order, and quitted it without giving an account of the money which had been depoſited in his hands. He had afterwards borne arms, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the ſervice of Henry I.I. who uſed to call him the emperor of the monks: after that, he reſumed the eccleſiaſtic habit, and was celebrated for his preaching. Whatever was the cauſe, he was detained in thoſe priſons till the year 1626, which was the ſame year in which he died, being a few days after he was reſtored to his liberty by pope Gregory XV. Memoirs for a Hiſtory of France, French Mercury, and Moreri.

In L'Etoile, La Varenne makes a very ſingular ſpeech to the jeſuits at his return from La-Flêche, whither he had accompanied them in the ceremony of bearing the king's heart to their chapel. Having entertained them all to the number of twenty-four at dinner, he continued his diſcourſe to them (the former part of which had been pretty ſevere) in this manner: "I will not ſcruple to tell you, ſaid he, that there is a very bad report concerning you circulated in this city, which has come to my ears; that there are among you ſome who were abettors of, and accomplices in, the wicked aſſaſſination of the deceaſed king. Hitherto I have not believed it; but, if I ſhould ever happen to diſcover any thing againſt you, I declare that I will have you all ſeized one after the other, and hang you in my ſtables." Such was La-Varenne's harangue to the jeſuits; but it was time, ſay they, to ſhut the ſtable-door when the ſteed was ſtolen. Ibid, p. 176.

As this ſpeech of La-Varenne's is not mentioned in any of the beſt authors of his time, there is good reaſon to think it one of thoſe idle and ridiculous tales fit to amuſe the populace, and gratify the malice and prejudice of an enemy, who finds reaſon and probability in every thing that is conformable to his paſſion.

The ſame author, ſpeaking of the provoſt-marſhal of Pluviers, ſays, that he had two ſons who were both jeſuits, and endeavours to prove that they were acceſſory to the king's aſſaſſination; but it is evident that nothing could be more unjuſt than the reaſonings of this writer, or more falſe than his concluſions, with reſpect to the provoſt of Pluviers: for why indeed ſhould it be aſſerted, that the jeſuits were in a combination with that provoſt, becauſe he had two ſons in the ſociety? It would not follow from thence that they had contributed to Ravaillac's crime, unleſs it could be proved, which it is impoſſible to do, that the provoſt hanged himſelf through his fear of falling into the hands of juſtice,

tice, for having, in concert with the jeſuits, endeavoured to inſpire Ravaillac with a reſolution to complete his horrid deſign: but this baſe calumny is refuted by the French Mercury, who, after obſerving that all which had been ſaid againſt the jeſuits had been taken from L'Anti-Cotton, the Thanks of the Butter-woman, and ſuch like writings, "They ought ſurely, ſaid he, to agree in their ſatires, ſince they all proceed from the ſame mouth. Of theſe two books, the firſt was not printed till the middle of September, and the other towards the end of October; and it was always thought this provoſt hanged himſelf becauſe inſtruments for coining had been found upon him, having practiſed the art of coining, and been guilty of other crimes in his office, for which he knew he could not avoid death; and not for the above-mentioned accuſation, which was raiſed againſt him at the inſtigation of his enemies." French Mercury, anno 1610.

That very obſervation, that nothing was alledged againſt the jeſuits, at that time, which was not taken from the moſt contemptible libels, is alone a ſufficient anſwer to all other calumnies of that nature; and after ſome words which eſcaped one of the moſt furious enemies this ſociety ever had, it ought no longer to be doubted. This Anti jeſuit, ſaid he, appeared about that time, and, except low abuſe, it will be found to contain nothing. The author was a young man named Boneſtat. The factor of Guillemot was impriſoned for it. The Catholicon of Saumur appeared likewiſe; a work made up of bad and good. La-Barillierie, who is a free ſpeaker, meeting two jeſuits ſome days after the king's aſſaſſination, "Gentlemen, ſaid he, I think you are jeſuits: there is a merchant at Châtelleraut who has very good knives to ſell perhaps you may find ſome that will ſuit you there." This is not a proof, but a witticiſm, which pleaſes not on account of the truth there is in it, but for its malicious and ſatyrical turn. Memoirs for a Hiſtory of France, ibid. p. 353.

Divray, a clerk of the court, told one of my friends the next day, that as they were conducting mademoiſelle Coman, the ſame who has been formerly mentioned, before the council, ſhe ſaid to him; "I revealed to the jeſuits, in confeſſion, all I knew of this conſpiracy, and they entreated me not to mention it." Certainly the jeſuits were greatly concerned in what this girl alledged: how comes it then that the writers of thoſe times, who have been ſo particular in their relations, have taken no notice of this circumſtance? Ibid. p. 353.

Nor is it leſs eaſy to refute the following citations againſt the ſeveral perſons we have named; indeed they carry their refutation along with them, by comprehending, in the ſame accuſation, perſons who were not only without connexion of friendſhip or intereſt, but were declared enemies, and publicly known to be ſuch: I mean the queen and the marchioneſs of Verneuil, and their partizans. For the ſame reaſon, therefore, we think ourſelves diſpenſed with from joining to each quotation reflections which would greatly ſwell theſe notes, and which muſt neceſſarily occur to every judicious reader.

" The Sunday before the Wedneſday on which the king was murdered, being the 9th of May, this ſoldier, a wicked lewd fellow, and who ſays the author a few lines above, had formerly been a prieſt, met the widow of captain St. Matthieu, a huguenot, a little beyond the gate St. Antony, on the road from Charenton, and, knowing her, he accoſted her, and, after ſome diſcourſe, aſked her if ſhe ſtill lived at Paris. She told him ſhe did. " And what are you doing there ſo long ?" ſaid the ſoldier. " Doing, ſhe replied, I have a great deal of buſineſs to tranſact." " Faith, returned he, if I was in your place, no law ſuit or buſineſs whatever ſhould keep me there ; and it is becauſe I wiſh you well that I adviſe you to get out of Paris." " But why do you wiſh me out of Paris ?" ſaid ſhe. " Becauſe," reſumed the ſoldier, " before eight days are paſt, it is in danger of ſuffering ſo great a diſaſter, that happy will it be for them who are at a diſtance from it. I therefore adviſe you, as a friend, to quit Paris as ſoon as poſſible, and believe what I ſay to you." When they came to the entry of the church, where the ſermon was not yet begun, the ſoldier ſaid he would not hear the ſermon. " But," ſaid he, laughing, " I will go and examine the diſpoſition of your guards, who are a multitude of poor miſerable wretches, ranged on each ſide like two hedges." Then looking at them, " Behold thoſe lame ſtragglers, ſaid he to this woman, which we are accuſtomed to ſee in Paris at the entrance of our churches ; do you not obſerve thoſe ſoldiers who are amongſt them ? I know them every one ; they are all robbers ; four of them in particular, whom I ſee there, are deſtined for four terrible exploits : but the wickedeſt, and moſt determined of them all, I do not ſee." Saying this, he took leave of the woman, and went away. Upon the Wedneſday following, when the king was aſſaſſinated, ſhe begun to reflect upon what the ſoldier had ſaid to her, and the Sunday after, being in doubt whether ſhe ought to go to Charenton, hearing that others had ſet the example, ſhe reſolved to follow it, and upon the road again met the ſoldier, to whom, in great ſurprize, ſhe ſaid, " I think you are a prophet ; I ſhall believe you another time : but I hope we ſhall ſuffer no more." " This is nothing yet, ſaid the ſoldier ; all is not over ; there are other ſtrokes to follow this, equally wicked, and much more dangerous ; and, ſince you are reſolved to believe me for the future, take my council and leave your abode as ſoon as poſſible."

" Upon giving immediate information of this diſcourſe to the miniſters of the church, among others to M. Durand, he procured her, by means of one of his friends, acceſs to M. Defunctis, who having heard what ſhe had to ſay, and got intelligence from her where this ſoldier dwelt, and at what hour he might be ſpoke with, he went to his lodgings at ten o'clock at night, and ſeizing him without any difficulty, lodged him in a place of ſecurity. The great probability there was in this ſtory made many perſons hope that at length there would be a full diſcovery of this deplored and moſt abominable enterprize, if the vile methods of proceeding uſed in the affair, had not deſtroyed all the good effects that might have been expected from the diſcoveries already made; but ſuch was the conduct obſerved in it, that one would imagine we were afraid of ſhewing ourſelves too ſevere and exact, in ſearching into a crime the moſt barbarous and moſt wicked that has ever been perpetrated in Europe for upwards of a thouſand years." L'Etoile's Journal, page 150, and following.

"Tueſday, May 18, the court being aſſembled, deliberated upon the forms and proceedings to be uſed in the trial and condemnation of that moſt deteſtable parricide and aſſaſſin of his king, Francis Ravaillac; but it was more eſpecially conſidered in this aſſembly what tortures ſhould be uſed to extort a confeſſion from this miſerable wretch. It was reſolved that he ſhould be put to extraordinary tortures, and thoſe of the moſt cruel kind: even foreign ones were propoſed, and, among others, that of Geneva, which was called the *barathe*, or *beurriere*, a torture ſo violent, that it is ſaid none, on whom it was tried, but was forced by it to confeſs. Upon this the opinions of the aſſembly were divided; the oldeſt and the beſt approved of its being tried, the others wavering between both, and apt to change their opinions every moment, reſolved upon nothing; therefore moſt of thoſe who are only determined by gain, having given their votes, *in mitiorem (ſeu deteriorem)* carried the vote that day by a great majority." Ibid, p. 154.

"According to the ſaid arret, he was put to the torture in order to oblige him to reveal his accomplices: what paſſed is ſtill a ſecret to all but the court." French Mercury, anno 1610, fol. 454.

"A certain infamous fellow, having publickly railed at the deceaſed king, and praiſed Ravaillac, ſaying that he had performed a noble act, was ſeized and brought priſoner to Paris. The informations againſt him, as thoſe againſt Maçons, were laid before the chancellor, but have ſtill remained a ſecret, nor has there been any mention made of bringing them to juſtice." Memoirs for the Hiſtory of France, Vol. II p. 324.

"When the aſſaſſin was brought to the place of puniſhment, and upon the point of being torn in pieces by the horſes, obſerving that a certain man, who was near the ſcaffold, had alighted from his horſe to put it in the place of one which had been tired with dragging him: “They deceived me, ſaid he, when they told me that the action I was going to commit would be pleaſing to the people, ſince they themſelves furniſh horſes to tear me in pieces.” A proof, adds the author in the margin, that he had been incited by ſome perſons to commit that execrable fact, and that he had accomplices.” Ib. p. 322.

Here follows what relates to the provoſt of Pluviers: “The provoſt of Pluviers, or Pétiviers, a city in Beauce, diſtant about two days journey from Paris, was accuſed of having ſaid, the ſame day, that the king was murdered; *this day the king is either ſlain or wounded.* Being brought priſoner to Paris, he was found dead in the priſon, ſtrangled with the ſtrings of his drawers. He was hanged by the feet in the Gréve, on the 19th of June.” French Mercury, anno 1610.

L'Etoile, after relating the ſame fact, adds the following circumſtances: “This infamous man, whoſe wickedneſs was publicly known, and who had two ſons of the order of the jeſuits, *quod notandum,* acknowledged by every one to be a very bad ſubject to the king, but a good ſervant to the family of Entragues and the marchioneſs of Verneuil, and known to be a rogue and extortioner, was accuſed of having ſaid, in Pluviers, while he was playing, or looking upon others who were playing, at bowls, in a garden, at the very time the king was murdered, *The king is juſt now murdered; he is dead, depend upon it*; and, ſome days before, he had uſed words to the ſame purpoſe, or very near it, which was not taken notice of till the thing happened, which made them believe that the old villain knew ſomething of the enterprize, and was one of the accomplices of that vile aſſaſſin: ſo that, being carefully watched, and eagerly purſued, he was at length taken and brought to Paris, where he was confined in the Conciergerie du Palais, where, a ſhort time afterwards, to their great aſtoniſhment, they found him dead, being ſtrangled with the ſtrings of his drawers. The parliament had him tried, tho' dead, and found him guilty of the crime of high treaſon; but, after all, *dead men do not ſpeak,* which was what they wanted; for, if he had ſpoke, he might have ſaid too much for the honour and advantage of many perſons whom they had no inclination to hurt. This was what was believed by all the people about Pluviers, who uſed to exclaim, *Good God, how fortunate is the death of this wicked man for M. D'Entragues, the marchioneſs of Verneuil his daughter, and the whole family.* Upon this miſerable wretch was found a tool and an inſtrument made uſe of in coining, called a mold. It was ſaid, that he had been guilty of that practice; but this inſtrument was found to be a tool for breaking iron gates, and bars of iron, even of the largeſt ſize, like thoſe in the Baſtile, in order to get the count of Auvergne from thence.” Journal of the Reign of Henry IV. p. 183.

"The queen ſent for Durat the phyſician, a man whom the king deteſted, and would never ſuffer in his preſence, and even forbid the queen to employ. She, however, retained him for her phyſician, made him one of her council, with large appointments, and all to oblige Conchini, who, it was ſaid, bore with great fortitude the death of the king." In the margin it is written, "The public were perſuaded, that his wife and he had greatly contributed to the king's aſſaſſination." Memoirs for the Hiſtory of France, Vol. II. p. 309.

"On Sunday, January the 30th, the marchioneſs of Verneuil was, upon the depoſitions of mademoiſelle Coman, interrogated by M. the firſt preſident at his houſe. Her examination laſted from one o'clock in the afternoon till five. She is thus called, Henrietta de Balzac D'Entragues, marchioneſs of Verneuil, miſtreſs to king Henry IV. She was accuſed by La Coman; yet was decreed to be heard but once, although the affair was the king's aſſaſſination, and the crime high treaſon." Ib. p. 358.

"The next day the queen ſent a gentleman to the firſt preſident, to deſire he would ſend her his opinion concerning this proceſs, to whom the good man replied, "You may tell the queen that God has reſerved me to live in an age to ſee and hear things ſo ſtrange, as I never thought I could have heard or ſeen." One of his friends and mine ſaying to him, that it was almoſt the general opinion that this young woman, by her accuſing ſo many perſons, and of the higheſt rank in the kingdom, ſpoke at random, and without any proofs; the firſt preſident, raiſing his eyes to heaven, and ſhrugging up his ſhoulders, replied, "There are but too many, there are but too many." Ibid.

"Monſieur D'Epernon at the ſame time, who was moſt intereſted in the affair, and who eagerly puſhed on the proceſs againſt this girl, that ſhe might be put to death, went generally for that purpoſe to the council, and made a viſit to the firſt preſident to hear what had paſſed; but that gentleman, with his accuſtomed gravity, and aſperity of countenance, which thoſe, eſpecially whom he did not like, were ſure to meet with from him, repulſed him diſdainfully, ſaying, "I am not your news-monger but your judge." The duke telling him, that he aſked him as a friend, "I have no friends, replied the preſident; I will do you juſtice: be ſatisfied with that." M. D'Epernon, returning in great diſcontent, went and complained to the queen, who immediately diſpatched a meſſenger to the firſt preſident, to tell him, that ſhe had been informed, he had treated the duke of Epernon ill, and that it was her deſire he ſhould, for the future, behave with more reſpect to him, in conſideration of his high quality. To this the firſt preſident replied: "I have been a judge fifty years, thirty of which I have had the honour to preſide in the ſovereign court of the peers of this kingdom, and, during that time, I never ſaw any lord, duke, or peer, of what quality ſoever, who was accuſed of high treaſon, who came before his judges booted and ſpurred, as M. D'Epernon has done, and with his ſword by his ſide. Do not fail to tell the queen this." This was a freedom becoming a firſt preſident. I ſhould not record this ſpeech of his here, if I did not certainly know it to be true."

" If it be aſked, ſays M. de Péréfixe, who were the furies, the fiends, that ſuggeſted to him ſo damnable a deſign, and urged him to carry it into execution, hiſtory replies, that it is ignorant, and that, upon an action of ſuch conſequence, it is not allowable to give ſuſpicions and conjectures for certain truths: the judges themſelves, who interrogated the criminal, durſt not open their mouths, and never mentioned it, but with geſtures of horror and aſtoniſhment." Péréfixe's Hiſtory of Henry the Great, Part III. p. 410.

The continuator of de Thou's Latin Hiſtory ſays, that two different opinions prevailed upon this ſubject; ſome were perſuaded that the aſſaſſination of Henry IV. was the work of ſome great lords of the kingdom, who ſacrificed this prince to their ancient reſentment; others believed that it was Spain who ſtruck this blow by the partizans ſhe had in France: and this writer adds, that the preſident de Thou, and the ableſt heads in the parliament, was of this latter opinion. He likewiſe mentions letters from Bruſſels, Antwerp, Malines, and Bolduc, before the 15th of May, which expreſſed that it was commonly reported in thoſe provinces, that Henry IV. had been murdered. Nic. Rigalt, anno 1610. Vol. VI. p. 492.

That paſſage from L'Etoile, which I quoted a little before, may, if granted to be of any authority, give room for a third opinion; namely, that this plot, or rather all theſe different plots, were to end in a rebellion, and even a kind of ſecond maſſacre in Paris; that this was not executed, becauſe the conſpirators ſeeing the king dead, which was the great and principal object they had in view, thought it needleſs to proceed any farther.

And here I cannot diſpenſe with myſelf from mentioning ſome writings, which may be found in the fourth volume of L'Etoile's Journal, lately printed under the title of Pieces juſtificatives. Some of them relate to the affair and proceſs of Mademoiſelle Coman. They add nothing, or very little, to what has been already ſaid. The others are:

Firſt, a manuſcript which the author pretends had been found in the cabinet of the duke D'Aumale (Charles de Lorrain) ſecond ſon of Claude) who died in the Low Countries in the year 1631. In this manuſcript, which heavily charges the jeſuits and the count of Auvergne, although in priſon at the time, it is related, that the duke of Epernon, who was in the coach with his majeſty, ſeeing him wounded to death, (theſe are his words) "Stabbed him in the ſide with a knife, that he might be ſooner out of pain. The duke of Montbazon, adds he, ſaw the duke of Epernon ſtab the king, but did not take any notice of it, becauſe he favoured this aſſaſſination."

The ſecond of theſe pieces is entitled, The meeting between the duke of Epernon and Francis Ravaillac. It is there aſſerted, that this duke, being at Angoulême, ſent for Ravaillac, and two other accomplices of his, and he and father Cotton exhorted them to poignard the king, giving for a reaſon, that this prince was an enemy to the Pope, the king of Spain, and the catholic religion, which he was going to aboliſh in Europe; and that, after they had made them ſwear to perform this, receiving the communion upon it from father Cotton, they gave them each two hundred crowns. The aſſaſſins then took the road to Paris, where, having ſtaid a long time, without meeting with an opportunity of executing their enterpriſe, they obliged D'Epernon to give each of them a hundred crowns more; that, when the moment for perpetrating the parricide approached, the duke of Epernon, as he had agreed upon beforehand with Ravaillac, amuſed the king with ſome diſcourſe, and then the horrid villain, throwing himſelf upon the king, gave him a wound with a knife; but the ſaid duke perceiving that it was very ſlight, and that the king cried out, I am wounded, he made a ſign to him to repeat the ſtroke; whereupon this execrable wretch, with a ſecond blow, ſtruck the king into the heart; ſo that he expired immediately. All theſe imputations, to be found only in contemptible libels, deſerve leſs, that we ſhould ſhew their falſhood and inconſiſtency than the former. See Paſquier's letter to M. de Monac, in which he juſtifies the duke of Epernon.

The other pieces relate to the ſtory of Peter Du-Jardin, known by the name of captain de La-Garde, of whom we have already had occaſion to ſpeak. From theſe we learn, that Du-Jardin was a native of Rouen: he ſerved at firſt in the regiment of guards, afterwards in the light horſe: he then went to Provence, where he was employed by the duke of Guiſe in his majeſty's ſervice. Marſhal Biron knew him when he ſerved in the light horſe, and attached him to himſelf on account of his great bravery. After the peace of Savoy, he went into the ſervice of the republic of Venice, where he continued till ſhe made peace with the Pope. He then went to ſerve in Germany under the duke de Mercœur. He again returned to Venice, from whence, after a ſhort ſtay at Florence and Rome, he came to Naples. In this city he became acquainted with a refugee, named La-Bruyerre, who had been a leaguer: by him he was introduced to a jeſuit, called father Alagon, uncle to the duke of Lerma, the king of

Spain's favourite. This jeſuit, being deſirous to make uſe of ſo brave a man in the deſign that was projected of aſſaſſinating Henry IV. joined him with Hébert, marſhal Biron's ſecretary, who has been mentioned in our Memoirs, with Lewis D'Aix, mentioned likewiſe in the account of the reduction of Marſeilles, and with another Provincial, called Roux, all of them French refugees.

In one of their parties of pleaſure Ravaillac was introduced to them, who diſcloſed to them all his deſigns, and told them, that he brought a letter from the duke of Epernon for the viceroy of Naples. La-Garde, having now got ſufficient intelligence of every thing that was projecting, went to Zamet, ambaſſador from France to Venice, to diſcover all he knew. This ambaſſador ſent him immediately to M. De-Bréves, our ambaſſador at Rome, and to Zamet, his brother, at Paris. De-Bréves gave La-Garde letters for M. de Villeroi, with which he returned to Paris in the train of the duke of Nevers, who at Fontainebleau preſented him to his majeſty. Henry IV. after telling him that he would take proper meaſures to render theſe deſigns upon his perſon ineffectual, ordered this officer to accompany the grand marſhal of Poland into Germany, and to take care of his intereſts there. La-Garde, returning to France with advices of great importance from the grand marſhal of Poland, was at Francfort informed of the king's death. He retired to Metz greatly indiſpoſed, from whence he followed marſhal de La-Chatre to the expedition of Juliers. After the peace, as he was upon his journey to France, he was attacked near the village of Fize by ſome armed men, who gave him ſeveral wounds, and left him for dead in a ditch. La-Garde made ſhift to get to Mézieres, where the duke of Nevers then was, who cauſed him to be conducted to Paris, where, upon preſenting a petition to the king, he obtained the office of comptroller-general of Bierres; but, when he leaſt expected ſuch treatment, he was ſeized and carried to priſon. Before judgment was pronounced, which could not but be favourable, becauſe his judges found him abſolutely innocent of every thing charged upon him, an exempt came to take him out of priſon, and delivered him a brevet for a yearly penſion of ſix hundred livres; and his patent for the office of comptroller-general of Bierres: it appears that he retired to Rouen, and died there.

Another writer of ſtill later date, who has reſtored the five interrogatories of Ravaillac, in the volume of manuſcripts, marked 192, of the king's library (for the French Mercury mentions only the four laſt, which are abridged and related in an hiſtorical manner, and ſays not a word of the firſt) believes that in them may be found proofs that the criminal endeavoured to impoſe upon his judges, and did not make a full confeſſion; and that his judges, on their ſide, ſeemed to be afraid of aſking him how he came to be known to the duke of Epernon. He has not the leaſt doubt of Ravaillac's having been in Italy, although he conſtantly denied it. The pieces relating to the proceſſes of La Coman, and captain de La Garde, ſeem to him to prove very clearly, that the plot of the parricide was laid at Naples in the year 1608; and that, at one and the ſame time, they laboured to ſecure the ſucceſs of it in Italy, Spain, Flanders, and France. To this he adds, that the duke of Epernon, and the marchioneſs of Verneuil, met ſeveral times at St. Jean en Greve; that they had been heard to ſay ſomething relating to their ſcheme, and that Henry IV. himſelf was informed of it: but that this prince, either through a blind ſecurity or an exceſs of goodneſs, neglected this information.

Thoſe who have obſerved that the duke of Sully, in ſome paſſages of his Memoirs, confeſſed that he does not declare all he knows on this ſubject, may in theſe words find ſome grounds for ſuſpicions: but indeed in all theſe there is nothing ſufficiently clear nor poſitive, to make it allowable, upon ſuch hints, to accuſe this or that perſon; and, at preſent, the beſt thing that can be done, is to draw a veil over this myſtery of iniquity, and, if poſſible, to conſign for ever to oblivion this ſhocking period of our hiſtory. We ought to take this part, although it were true what ſome perſons are fully perſuaded of, that there are two or three cabinets in Paris which are able to throw ſome new lights upon this fact. Thoſe who are poſſeſſed of ſuch papers, are greatly to be praiſed for concealing them with ſo much care; and it would be well if they could reſolve to conſign them to the flames.

Throughout this whole detail, I have not quoted Vittorio Siri; not that he makes no mention of the aſſaſſination of Henry IV. and the trial of Ravaillac, Mem. Recond. Vol. II. p. 246, but he does it in ſo negligent a manner, and like a man ſo ill informed, and even ſo prejudiced againſt the perſon of Henry IV. and his maxims of government, that his teſtimony deſerves to have no weight. I ſhall only obſerve here, that it is his opinion abſolutely, that Ravaillac had no accomplices.

# BOOK XXVIII.

THE reader muſt not expect to ſee in theſe Memoirs a particular relation of that execrable crime: my grief is renewed by the ſad remembrance, nor ſhall I ceaſe to lament it but when I ceaſe to live. It is with aſtoniſhment, that I behold perſons capable of hearing and ſpeaking with coldneſs and inſenſibility of the greateſt misfortune which ever befel this kingdom; in me the thought of it is attended with ſuch horror, that I turn my eyes as much as poſſible from that deplorable object, and my tongue refuſes to pronounce the name of the abominable monſter †, who was the cauſe of all our miſeries; while inwardly I implore the divine vengeance againſt him, and againſt thoſe that armed his impious hand;

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† Francis Ravaillac was born at Angoulême, where he followed the profeſſion of a ſchoolmaſter, and was at that time between thirty-one and thirty-two years old. Matthieu thinks he was mad; but I can find nothing in his diſcourſe, either during his impriſonment, or at the time of his execution, that affords any reaſon to charge him with madneſs, taking that word in its moſt uſual ſenſe, but only with fool-hardineſs, fury, and a diſtempered mind. He was brought, on Thurſday the 27th of May, before the church of Nôtre Dame, where he performed the *amende honorable*; from thence he was carried to the Gréve, and there his breaſt, arms, thighs, &c. were torn with red hot pincers, &c. he holding the knife in his right hand; after that, melted lead and boiling oil and pitch, were poured on his wounds; and at laſt he was torn to-pieces by four horſes; his members were burned, and his aſhes thrown into the air. The furious crowd were every moment ready to puſh upon him and tear him to pieces, and refuſed to ſing the *ſalve*. He was ſomewhat tall and bulky, and of ſo robuſt a make, that the horſes could not tear him to pieces, but the executioner was obliged to cut him into quarters, which the populace dragged about the city, &c. See the hiſtorians quoted above. Paſquier ſays he was related, on the mother's ſide to Poltrot, who aſſaſſinated the duke of Guiſe; ibid. p. 32. I do not find there is any appearance of truth in what Guy-Patin relates, letter 122, that Ravillac had a brother who died in Holland, and who, on his death-bed, declared, that if his brother had miſcarried in his attempt, he himſelf would have undertaken the ſame thing, to revenge, as he ſaid, the injury Henry IV. had done them in debauching their ſiſter, and neglecting her afterwards.

the public outcry directs us to the authors of this deteſtable plot; nor can I hinder myſelf from exclaiming, with all the world, againſt a circumſtance, of which no one is ignorant. After the parricide had perpetrated his horrid deſign, he was guarded with ſo little care in the houſe [*] to which he was firſt carried, that during four hours all ſorts of perſons were permitted to ſee and talk to him; and certain perſons, whom it is not neceſſary to name here, made ſuch an imprudent uſe of this liberty, that they were heard to call him Friend, and bid him, I repeat their own words, “ take care that he did “ not accuſe good men who were innocent and “ good catholicks,” becauſe that would be an unpardonable crime and worthy of eternal damnation. Some perſons, truly ſcandalized at what they ſaw, loudly exclaimed againſt ſuch negligence; which obliged them afterwards to guard the murderer with more care.

HOWEVER that may be, ſuch was the tragical end of a prince, on whom nature, with a laviſh profuſion, had beſtowed all her advantages, except that of a death ſuch as he merited. I have already obſerved, that his ſtature was ſo happy, and his limbs formed with ſuch proportion, as conſtitutes not only what is called a well made man, but indicates ſtrength, vigour, and activity [†]; his complection was animated; all the lineaments of his face had that agreeable livelineſs [‡] which forms a

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[*] In the hotel of Retz. L'Etoile ſays he was carried the next day from the hotel of Epernon to the Conciergerie.

[†] “ Henry IV. ſays Le-Grain, was of a middling ſtature, rather “ tall than low; that his forehead was broad, his noſe aquiline and “ royal, his mouth well made, and his lips red, &c.” Decade de Henry le Grand, book i. Morizot, being worſe informed, ſays, on the contrary, that he was low, and of ſquare make: and aſſerts, that he dreſſed himſelf nearly in the ſame manner in winter as in ſummer, chap. 49.

[‡] D'Aubigné informs us, that he had an extreme piercing ſight, and (to make uſe of his own words) a monſtrous quick hearing; of which he gives this convincing proof: “ The king, ſays he, being “ in bed at La-Garnache, in a large ſtate chamber, and his bed,

“ beſides

ſweet and happy phyſiognomy, and perfectly ſuited to that engaging eaſineſs of manners, which, though ſometimes mixed with majeſty, never loſt the graceful affability and eaſy gaiety † ſo natural to that

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"beſides the curtains, being ſurrounded with a thick frize; Frontenac and I laid in the oppoſite corner of the room, in a bed furniſhed in the ſame manner; and joking about the king, I having my lips cloſe to his ear, and lowering my voice as much as poſſible, he often aſked, What doſt thou ſay? The king anſwered, Deaf as you are, can't you hear he ſays, I want to make two friends by doing one good office? We got off by deſiring him to go to ſleep, for we had ſtill a great deal more to ſay of him." Vol. III. ch. xxi. The anſwer which the duke of Bellegarde made to this prince, is of much the ſame kind with this; when both of them lying in the ſame room, ſhortly after the death of Henry III. Henry IV. waked Bellegarde three or four times in the night, to perſuade him to give up ſome of the poſts he enjoyed, in favour of ſome perſons the king named to him: "I will with all my heart, ſire," ſays the maſter of the horſe at laſt; "but for God's ſake, don't wake any more." This taſte for raillery and joking, as is always the caſe on ſuch occaſions, from the prince's example, paſſed to his courtiers: and Siri, with ſome appearance of reaſon, blames Henry IV. on this account, condemning it as a fault in a king; raillery never failing to create quarrels amongſt the great, and always diminiſhing the reverence due to the prince: he produces many examples of this. Mem. record. vol. I. p. 560.

† The hiſtory of Henry IV. furniſhes innumerable inſtances of his turn for pleaſantry, and of his affable and popular manner of addreſs; which perhaps contributed more than his great qualities to procure him the love of his people. "The king," ſays the Mem. for the hiſt. of France, vol. II. p. 277, "going one day to the Louvre, and meeting a poor woman driving a cow, he ſtopt her, and aſked the price of the cow: the woman having told him the price, *Ventre-ſaint-gris!* ſays the king, ſhe is not worth that; I will give you ſo much. I ſee replied the woman, you are not a dealer in cows. What makes you think ſo? ſays the king, who had many noblemen with him, Don't you ſee all theſe calves are following me?" His gardener at Fontainebleau once complaining to him, that he could not make any thing grow in that ſoil: "Friend," ſays Henry looking at the duke of Epernon, "Sow it with Gaſcoons, and they will thrive any where." A man who was an extraordinary great eater being ſhewn him, he ſaid, "*Ventre-ſaint-gris!* if I had ſix men like thee in my kingdom, I ſhould hang them all; ſuch raſcals would ſoon create a famine." It is alſo related of him, that having one day boaſted to the Spaniſh ambaſſador, that he would go to breakfaſt at Milan, hear maſs at Rome, and dine at Naples; that ambaſſador anſwered, "Sire, if your majeſty goes ſo faſt, perhaps you may go to veſpers in Sicily." He was never diſpleaſed at any repartees that were made to him of this kind. Matthieu ſays, not one of his court was able to tell a ſtory ſo agreeably as he.

great prince. With regard to the qualities of his heart and mind, I ſhall tell the reader nothing new, by ſaying that he was candid, ſincere, grateful, compaſſionate, generous †, wiſe, penetrating; in a word, endowed with all thoſe great and amiable qualities which in theſe Memoirs he has ſo often had occaſion of admiring in him.

He loved all his ſubjects as a father, and the whole ſtate as the head of a family: and this diſpoſition it was, that recalled him even from the midſt of his pleaſures, to the care of rendering his people happy, and his kingdom flouriſhing: hence proceeded his readineſs in conceiving, and his induſtry in perfecting, a great number of uſeful regulations; many I have already ſpecified: and I ſhall ſum up all, by ſaying, that there were no conditions, employments, or profeſſions, to which his reflections did not extend; and that with ſuch clearneſs and penetration, that the changes he projected could not be overthrown by the death of their author, as it but too often happened in this monarchy. It was his deſire, he ſaid, that glory might influence his laſt years, and make them, at once, uſeful to the world, and acceptable to God: his was a mind, in which the ideas of what is great, uncommon, and beautiful, ſeemed to riſe of themſelves: hence it was, that he looked upon adverſity as a mere tranſitory evil, and proſperity as his natural ſtate. He had drained fens, in order to a greater work than any he had yet undertaken, which was to make, by canals, a communication from ſea to ſea, and from river to river: he wanted only time to complete this noble project.

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† “ As to his enemies, he always ſpoke of them with reſpect, even “ when he was very young, how much ſoever he was offended with “ them: he never named any one of his enemies without giving “ him the title of Monſieur.” Le-Grain's Décade, book viii. “ All “ the foreſts in my kingdom would not be ſufficient, ſaid he, to furniſh timber for gallows, if all thoſe who have wrote or preached “ againſt me were to be hanged.” When he had been prevailed on to read ſome libels on the late queen, his mother, he ſhrugged up his ſhoulders, ſaying, “ O, the wretch! but he returned to France “ under protection of my paſſport; and I will not have any “ harm done to him.” Merc. Franc. ann. 1610. pag. 428. He ſhewed not the ſame indulgence where offence was given to other perſons, as in his own caſe. “ On twelfth-day, as the king “ was going to receive the communion, M. de Roquelaure, judging “ this the fitteſt opportunity to apply for the pardon he was deſirous to obtain for Saint-Chamand (Francis d'Hautefort) his “ couſin, who had cauſed the lieutenant-general de Tulles (Peter de Feniſh, ſieur du Teil) to be whipped, without reaſon, and “ for which his majeſty had ordered him to be exemplarily puniſhed, “ came to the king, and beſought him to pardon Saint-Chamand, “ for the love of that God he was going to receive, and who would “ only forgive thoſe who had forgave thoſe that had offended them: “ whom the king anſwered, fixing his eyes upon him, “ Be gone, “ and let me alone; I am ſurpriſed you dare make this requeſt to “ me, when I am going to declare to God, my reſolution to do “ juſtice, and to aſk his pardon for not having done it.” Mem. pour l'hiſt. de France, vol. II. p. 262. He replied to M. le Grand, who importuned him in favour of the ſon of the count de La-Martiniere, who was condemned to ſuffer death for having killed his ſiſter; “ That after he was executed he would grant him his “ aſhes:” to another nobleman he ſaid, “ If he had been the father “ of that wretch, he would not have intereded for him. “ He made “ a merry, though a chriſtian reply to another; *Ventre ſaint-gris!* “ ſaid he to him, ſcratching his head, I have ſins enough on my “ head already, without adding this to them.” L'Etoile, part ii. p. 115. Somebody wanting to perſuade him to puniſh the author of the Iſle des Hermaphrodites, “ It would offend my conſcience, ſays “ he, to give any man trouble for only ſpeaking the truth.”

He often ſaid, that there were ten things which he intreated God to grant to him, from whence aroſe that ſaying, "The ten wiſhes of Henry IV." He had not the good fortune to obtain them all: they were as follow. 1. Grace and ſpiritual bleſſings. 2. To preſerve till death the uſe of all the faculties of his mind and body. 3. To ſee the religion he had formerly profeſſed, in a fixed and peaceful ſituation. 4. To be delivered from his wife (it is the firſt he here means) and to find one whoſe temper ſuited with his own, that would bring him princes whom he might live to form and educate himſelf. 5. To reſtore France to its ancient ſplendor. 6. To gain from Spain, by conqueſt, either Navarre, or Flanders and Artois. 7. To gain a battle in perſon againſt the king of Spain, and another againſt the Grand Seignior; a piece of good fortune for which he greatly envied Don John of Auſtria. 8. To bring back to its duty, without being obliged to have recourſe to violent meaſures, the huguenot faction, headed by the dukes of Bouillôn, La-Tremouille, &c. And on this ſubject he added a 9th, To ſee thoſe two men, and the duke of Epernon, reduced to implore his clemency. It was a long time before he would declare the 10th, which regarded the accompliſhment of his great deſigns: and as in thoſe deſigns he had two principal objects in view, it was neceſſary to divide this wiſh into two; and firſt, with regard to religion, he was deſirous of reducing that prodigious number of religions with which all Europe was filled and divided, to three principal ones at leaſt, ſince it was not poſſible to reunite them all under one ſole faith: the other was wholly political, and related to the number, the territory, and equality, of the European powers, of whom he deſigned to compoſe that kind of great republic upon the plan I ſhall give the reader preſently.

I SHOULD deſtroy all I have now ſaid of this great prince, if, after having praiſed him for an infinite number of qualities well worthy to be praiſed, I did not acknowledge that they were ballanced by faults, and thoſe indeed very great. I have not concealed, or even palliated his paſſion for women; his exceſs in gaming; his gentleneſs often carried him to weakneſs; nor his propenſity to every kind of pleaſure: I have neither diſguiſed the faults they made him commit, the fooliſh expences they led him into, nor the time they made him waſte: but I have likewiſe obſerved, to do juſtice on both ſides, that his enemies have greatly exaggerated all theſe errors. If he was, as they ſay, a ſlave to women, yet they never regulated his choice of miniſters, decided the deſtinies of his ſervants, or influenced the deliberations of his council. As much may be ſaid in extenuation of all his other faults. And to ſum up all, in a word, what he has done is ſufficient to ſhew that the good and bad in his character had no proportion to each other; and ſince honour and fame have always had power enough to tear him from pleaſure, we ought to acknowledge them to be his great and real paſſions.

I HAVE a letter by me, which he made Loménie write for him, becauſe he had, as he ſaid, a ſlight hurt in his thumb; it is dated from Chantilly, April 8, but without date of the year. I believe the reader will not be diſpleaſed to hear him ſpeak himſelf upon this ſubject. At the beginning of the letter he tells me, that his reaſon for entering upon it with me, was the public diſcourſe concerning him; for he uſed to divert himſelf with hearing all that was ſaid of him, from Roquelaure, Frontenac, La-Riviere, Du-Laurens, d'Arambure, Morlas, Salette, La-Varenne, Bonniers, Du-Jon, Béringhen, L'Oſerai, Armagnac, Jacquinot, Perroton, and ſome others with whom he converſed familiarly, and who often acquitted themſelves very faithfully of the order he gave them, to conceal from him nothing that was ſaid to his diſadvantage.

HE began with telling me, that his enemies accuſed him with having neglected and deſpiſed, thoſe are his words, the greateſt and moſt deſerving men in the kingdom; and conſuming, in vain and uſeleſs expences, that money which they alledged would be better employed in gratuities to them *. "Some, "purſued he, blame me for being too fond of build-"ings and great works; others, for liking hunting,

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* "They ſay I am a niggard, ſays he: but I do three things very "inconſiſtent with a covetous diſpoſition; for I make war, I make "love, and I build." Le-Grain, book viii. "Some looked on him "as a covetous man, but they could be only thoſe who did not "know the great neceſſities he had to ſtruggle with; which were "even ſo great, that during the ſiege of Dieppe, he could truly ſay, "He was a king without a kingdom, a huſband without a wife, and "that he made war without money." Merc. Franç. ann. 1610. p. 485.

“ dogs, and birds; one ſays, that I have a paſſion
“ for cards, dice, and other kinds of gaming; an-
“ other condemns me for my attachment to women,
“ to the pleaſures of the table, to aſſemblies, plays,
“ balls, running at the ring, and other amuſements
“ of that kind †; where, ſay they, I appear as gay
“ and lively, with my grey beard, and am as proud
“ of having gained the goal, and received a ring
“ from ſome fair lady, as I could have been in my
“ youth, or as the vaineſt young fellow of the
“ court. I do not deny (adds he) but there is ſome
“ truth in all this; but if I am guilty of no exceſſes
“ in theſe pleaſures, my conduct deſerves more
“ praiſe than blame; and indeed ſome little indul-
“ gences I ought to have, in amuſements which
“ bring no inconvenience upon my people, in con-
“ ſideration of the labours I have endured from my
“ infancy to fifty years old. I have heard you ſay,
“ when any one cenſured your actions, that we are
“ not commanded by ſcripture to have abſolutely
“ no ſins and errors, becauſe there are ſome infir-
“ mities inſeparable from humanity; but only not
“ to ſuffer them to enſlave us and controul our
“ wills; and this has been my endeavour, ſince I
“ could not do better *. You know that on many
“ occaſions wherein my miſtreſſes have been con-

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† “ At feaſts he was lively; at tournaments as expert as any one;
“ he was gay over a bottle, tho' naturally grave; his ſprightlineſs,
“ and the ſmartneſs of his repartees, furniſhed the moſt pleaſing part
“ of the feaſt; he diſcovered as much addreſs and courage at tilts,
“ running at the ring, and in all other gentleman-like exerciſes, as
“ any one of the young nobility: he even took delight in balls, and
“ ſometimes danced, though, to ſpeak the truth, with more ſpirit
“ than gracefulneſs.” Perefixe, p. 380.

* “ I every day, ſaid this prince, pray to God for three things;
“ firſt, that he would be pleaſed to pardon my enemies; ſecondly,
“ to grant me the victory over my paſſions, and eſpecially ſenſuality;
“ thirdly, that I may make a right uſe of the authority he has
“ given me, and never abuſe it. I would willingly do as they ſay,”
added he, ſpeaking of the remonſtrances ſometimes made to him by
the biſhops and other eccleſiaſtics. “ but they do not think I know
“ what they do.” Matthieu, vol. II. p. 838.

“ cerned (and my paſſion for women is, of all
“ others, ſaid to have the moſt empire over me) I
“ have ſupported you againſt them, and have gone
“ ſo far as to tell them, that I would rather loſe
“ ten ſuch miſtreſſes as they, than one ſuch ſervant
“ as you: and this, I aſſure you, you ſhall hear
“ me ſay again, if neceſſary; for when an oppor-
“ tunity offers for executing thoſe glorious deſigns
“ which you know I have long formed, you ſhall
“ find that I can quit my miſtreſſes, dogs, horſes,
“ gaming, buildings, and entertainments, to acquire
“ honour and fame; for I hold it to be my principal
“ duty, next to thoſe I have to God, my wife, my
“ children, my faithful ſervants, and my people,
“ whom I love as my children †, to make myſelf be
“ eſteemed as a prince who is religiouſly faithful to
“ his word, &c.”

But it is now time to reſume the diſagreeable recital of what happened after the death of this good prince; however painful that recital may appear to me, theſe Memoirs ought not to conclude till that period, when I ceaſed to have a ſhare in the affairs of the government.

Amidst the firſt tranſports of my grief at the news of my dear maſter's death, I fancied, that though mortally wounded, ſome little remains of life might ſtill be left him; and my mind equally welcoming this faint ray of hope and conſolation, “ Give me
“ my cloaths and boots, ſaid I to thoſe that were
“ about me, and ſaddle ſome of my beſt horſes, for I
“ will not uſe a coach, and let all my gentlemen
“ hold themſelves in readineſs to accompany me.”
I had then only a few of my ſervants with me; for all the others, believing that I was too much indiſpoſed to go out, or even to be dreſſed, had diſperſed ſeveral ways; but the report of the king's being

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† “ I have only two eyes and two feet, ſaid this good prince; “ in what reſpect then do I differ from my ſubjects, but that I am “ inveſted with the power of executing juſtice?”

wounded, which was ſoon ſpread over all quarters of the city, had brought them altogether again before I had mounted my horſe, and with them ſo many other perſons, who were particularly attached to me, that I had ſcarcely reached the houſe of Beaumarchais, when I had above an hundred horſe in my train; which in a few moments more, was increaſed to a hundred and fifty; for as I advanced, I met ſeveral of the king's faithful ſervants, who were coming to my houſe, to aſk my advice concerning what meaſures they ſhould take in this moſt miſerable conjuncture. The univerſal grief * and conſternation which I now beheld, was a proof how tenderly this good prince was beloved in his capital. Nothing could be more affecting than the different ways by which the citizens and populace of this great city expreſſed their affection and their ſorrow: groans, tears, loud cries of grief, a mournful ſilence, arms raiſed

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* The deſcription Perefixe gives of it, p. 415, is quite affecting: "When the report of this tragical accident had been ſpread all over "Paris, and it was certainly known that the king, who at firſt was "thought to be only wounded, was actually dead, that mixture of "hope and fear, which till then had kept this great city in ſuſpence, "at once burſt forth in loud cries and violent groans; ſome became "motionleſs and inſenſible, through grief; others ran about the "ſtreets, quite frantic; many embraced their friends without ſaying "any thing to them, but, *Alas! what a misfortune!* ſome ſhut them- "ſelves up in their houſes; others threw themſelves on the ground: "one might ſee women, with their hair diſhevelled, crying and la- "menting; fathers ſaid to their children, What will become of you? "you have loſt your father. Thoſe who had greater apprehenſions "for the future, and who remembered the horrible calamities of the "late civil wars, deplored the misfortunes of France, and ſaid, that "the fatal ſtroke which had pierced the heart of the king, at the "ſame time gave a deadly wound to every Frenchman. It was ſaid, "many were ſo ſtrongly affected by this event, that they died on the "ſpot, others in a few days afterwards. In ſhort, it was not the ap- "pearance of a mourning for one ſingle man, but as if the half of all "mankind were dead. One would have thought every one had loſt "all his family, poſſeſſions, and hopes, by the death of this great "king. All kings and princes, adds the hiſtorian Matthieu, la- "mented his death.---The king of Spain, compelled by truth and "grief, declared, that the greateſt commander on earth was dead.--- "The Venetians ſaid, Our king is dead." Ibid. p. 834.

raiſed towards heaven, claſped hands; ſome ſtriking their boſoms, others ſhaking their heads with a melancholy air. This was the ſpectacle which was every where preſented to my view; ſome of them, looking dejectedly upon me, ſaid, "Ah! monſieur, "we are all undone, our good king is dead."

As I paſſed through the ſtreet de la Pourpointerie, a man whom I had not perceived before paſſed cloſe by me, and put a billet into my hands, which I gave to ſome of thoſe who were neareſt me to read; it contained only theſe few words, "Monſieur, where "are you going? it is done; I have ſeen him dead; "if you enter the Louvre you will not eſcape any "more than him." This billet gave me a dreadful certainty of what I was ſeeking to know. I could not hinder myſelf from burſting into tears: the ſad truth was confirmed to me a thouſand different ways. Du-Jon, whom I met near St. Innocent, ſaid to me, "Monſieur, our evil is without remedy. God has diſ"poſed of him; I know it; I have ſeen him ſpeech"leſs: take care of yourſelf, for this ſtrange blow "muſt have fatal conſequences." On entering the ſtreet Saint-Honoré, another billet, like the former, was thrown to me; yet I ſtill continued my courſe to the Louvre. My train was now increaſed to three hundred horſe, when I met Vitry at the end of the ſtreet: he came and embraced me, breaking out into lamentable cries, which it was not in his power to reſtrain; never did I behold a man in ſuch affliction: "Ah! monſieur, cried he, they have "murdered our good maſter; he is dead, France is "ruined; as for me, I am perſuaded I have but a "ſhort time to live; I am going out of France, ne"ver more to return to it; we muſt now bid fare"wel to that order and regularity you had eſtabliſh"ed. But, monſieur, ſaid he afterwards, where "are you going with this train? they will not "ſuffer you to approach the Louvre, nor to enter "there with more than two or three attendants.

" which I would not adviſe you to do †; for I am " greatly deceived if this plot ends here. I have ſeen

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† By all the duke of Sully's expreſſions here, one may perceive he thought it incumbent upon him to juſtify himſelf againſt a fault he is accuſed of having committed on this occaſion.---Marechal Baſſompierre ſpeaks of it as follows: " As we came out, going towards " Saint-Anthony's-ſtreet, we met the duke of Sully, with about " forty horſe, who, as he approached, ſaid to us, with a melancholy " accent, Gentlemen, if your vows of ſervice to the king, whom we " have juſt now moſt unhappily loſt, have made that impreſſion on " your minds, which they ought on that of every good Frenchman, " ſwear on the ſpot, that you will ſerve the king his ſon and ſucceſſor, " with the ſame fidelity as you did him; and that you will venture " your perſons and lives in revenging his death." I anſwered him, " Sir, we are obliging others to take this oath, and have no need to " be adviſed to perform what we think ourſelves ſo ſtrongly bound to " do." " I do not know whether my anſwer ſurpriſed him, or whe- " ther he repented of having come ſo far from his fortreſs; but he " immediately turning about, left us, and went and ſhut himſelf up " in the Baſtile, ſending at the ſame time, to ſeize all the bread in " the markets and bakers ſhops. He alſo ſent in great haſte to M. " de Rohan, his ſon-in-law, to make him come back, with ſix thou- " ſand Swiſs, who were in Champaigne, and of whom he was colo- " nel-general, to march directly to Paris; which was afterwards " made uſe of as a pretext to exclude him from the management of " affairs: beſides this, meſſieurs de Praſlin and de Créquy, who came " to ſummon him for that purpoſe, could never perſuade him to wait " on the king, as all the other great men did; nor did he go till the " next day, when the duke of Guiſe, with difficulty, prevailed on him " to go: after which, he countermanded his ſon-in-law, with his " Swiſs, who had already advanced a day's march towards Paris." Vol. I. p. 300. L'Etoile only ſays, " M. de Sully, more dead than " alive, came to wait on the queen, who received him kindly, con- " tinued him in all his poſts, and ſent him to the arſenal to exer- " ciſe the duties of his office." Mem. hiſt. de France, p. 309. But his commentator appears to be of the ſame opinion with Baſſompierre, from whom he quotes in the margin the paſſage we have recited here. The author of L'Hiſtoire de la mere et du fils, inveighs violently on this account againſt M. de Sully, though without making mention of his ſeizing the bread, or recalling the Swiſs. He only accuſes this miniſter of giving way, with too much weakneſs, to the fear he had conceived of his enemies about the queen. " Some of his friends, " ſays he, did every thing in their power to engage him to the per- " formance of his duty, and to get the better of his apprehenſions " and fears: but as perſons of the greateſt courage, on ſome occa- " ſions become fearful and timorous, it was for ſome time impoſſible " to inſpire him with reſolution enough for this purpoſe. It was a " long time before he could recover his courage. Towards the even- " ing, Saint-Geran, whom he had obliged, and who profeſſed a great " friendſhip for him, coming to him, at laſt prevailed on him to quit " the

“ ſome perſons, who have ſo little ſenſibility of the “ loſs they have ſuſtained, that they cannot even “ diſſemble the grief they ought to feel for it: this “ I have obſerved, and am ready to burſt with rage “ at it; and if you was to ſee them, you would “ think as I do. I am of opinion that you ought

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“ the arſenal and go to the Louvre. When he came to the Croix-du-Trahoir, his apprehenſions ſeized him again, and ſo powerfully, by “ reaſon of ſome intelligence he received at that place, that he went “ back, with fifty or ſixty horſe, who accompanied him to the Baſtile, of which he was captain; having deſired M. de Saint-Geran “ to go and make his excuſes to the queen, and aſſure her of his fidelity and readineſs to ſerve her.” Vol. I. p. 49.

Viewing this account in the moſt unfavourable light, diſadvantageous as it is to the duke of Sully, it can only give room to blame him for having carried his precaution, againſt any attempt on his perſon (which was looked on as chimerical) too far: but the hiſtorian Matthieu, the beſt informed of all thoſe writers, acquaints us, that the fear this miniſter had conceived was not ſo groundleſs as his enemies have repreſented. He ſpeaks of this matter in the following manner: “ They had raiſed jealouſies in the queen of the duke of Sully, “ and ſhe had been adviſed to ſecure his perſon, becauſe he had the “ Baſtile, the arſenal, and the king's money, in his poſſeſſion. He “ had been bathing that day, and being advertiſed of this unhappy “ accident, he got on horſeback to go to the Louvre; but coming to “ the Croix-du-Trahoir, followed by about forty gentlemen, he received ſome advices which made him return. The queen ſent the “ duke of Guiſe to fetch him to her, who found him in the great “ walk in his garden, on the ſide next to the Baſtile, and acquainted “ him with the queen's orders. He deſired to be excuſed, becauſe “ he had notice given him that ſome deſigns were formed againſt “ him.---The determination he came to, on conſulting with the “ duke of Guiſe, the count of Bethune, and ſome other friends, “ was to ſtay at home the reſt of that day, and to ſee the queen on “ the day following, when the duke of Guiſe promiſed to come and “ fetch him, and aſſured him, that he and all his friends would loſe “ their lives, before they would ſuffer any harm to be done him. -- “ He went back to the queen, and got her approbation of the conſiderations that detained the duke of Sully, upon the promiſe he “ had made of coming to wait on her the next day. Immediately “ afterwards the duke of Sully, with a good number of gentlemen, “ went into the Baſtile, where he had cauſed all the bread to be “ brought that was found in the bakers ſhops in Paris.” &c. Hiſt. of Lewis XIII. p. 2. and 3. If we add to this, what the duke of Sully ſays of the notice he had received from every quarter, that this blow would be followed by terrible conſequences which were not expected, we ſhall perhaps be convinced, that it was only prudent in this miniſter to act thus, for the ſake of the public tranquility and his own ſafety.

" to go back; there is buſineſs enough for you to do, " without going to the Louvre."

THIS agreement of diſcourſes, billets, and advices, ſtruck me at length: I ſtopped ſhort, and after conſulting with Vitry, and ten or twelve of the principal perſons who followed me, I thought it was the moſt prudent way to return home; and accordingly I contented myſelf with ſending to offer my duty and ſervices to the queen; and to aſſure her, at the ſame time, that till ſhe acquainted me with her orders, I would, with ſtill greater aſſiduity than before, attend to the care of the Baſtile, the arſenal, the forces, and ordnance, and all the affairs of my government, and other employments.

I HAD but juſt entered the ſtreet Saint-Antoine, and the gentlemen whom I ſent with this meſſage could not have had time to deliver it, when I ſaw a meſſenger from the queen, who entreated me, from her, to come inſtantly to the Louvre, and to bring as few perſons as poſſible with me, having things of great conſequence to impart to me. This propoſal of going alone to the Louvre, to deliver myſelf into the hands of my enemies, with whom I knew it was full, was not very proper to remove my ſuſpicions. Beſides, I was that moment informed, that an exempt of the guards, and ſome archers, had been ſeen at the firſt gates of the arſenal; that others had been ſent to the temple, where the powder was lodged; and ſome to the treaſurer of the Exchequer, to ſtop all the money there. I drew ſo unfavourable an augury from all this being done without conſulting me, that I did not heſitate a moment about the anſwer I ſhould ſend to the queen. I ſent a gentleman to tell her, that I was very certain, when ſhe had heard what the perſon whom I had the honour to depute to her had to ſay, ſhe would enter into my reaſons, and alter her opinion; and that I would expect her anſwer at the arſenal and the Baſtile, from whence I ſhould not remove.

The queen did not ſtop there; ſhe ſent to me immediately meſſieurs de Montbazon, de Praſlin, de Schomberg, La-Varenne, and after them my brother. I knew not what to think of this importunity; but when I ſaw them all arrive within a quarter of an hour of each other, my ſuſpicions were encreaſed, and I reſolved not to go to the Louvre that day: the condition I was in was alone a ſufficient excuſe. The effort I had made after my bathing in the morning, and after a very ſlight repaſt; the ſtate of my mind, far more painful than that of my body; both together had thrown me into ſo violent a ſweat, that my cloaths were quite wet; and into ſo great a weakneſs, that I could no longer ſupport myſelf; therefore, as ſoon as I got to my apartment in the Baſtile, whither I firſt went, I was obliged to change my ſhirt, and to go into bed, where I was reſolved to continue till the next day. The conſtable and the duke of Epernon came to viſit me, and offered me their ſervices; and the manner in which they adviſed me to wait upon the queen making me judge I might do it without running any danger, I at length yielded, upon the condition they ſtill inſiſted on, that I ſhould be attended only by a ſmall number of perſons: and I reſolved to go to the Louvre the next day.

Three hundred perſons on horſeback waited for my coming out, that they might accompany me as the day before; theſe were all either relations, friends, or perſons ſeemingly attached to me from the appearance of the new favour I was likely to be in, or perhaps from the ſhame of quitting me too precipitately. I thanked them all, and told them my reaſons for not admitting of an eſcort that might appear in any degree remarkable, and for confining myſelf to that ſmall number which uſually compoſed my train. And accordingly it was with my own domeſtics only, to the number of twenty, or thereabouts, that I arrived at the Louvre. On my entrance,

trance, I perceived the marks of a ſincere grief in thoſe who had by any employment been attached to the deceaſed king: of theſe, the officers and ſubalterns ſeemed to feel, with the moſt tender ſenſibility, the public loſs. As I paſſed though the ſeveral gates I could ſee them advance to meet and embrace me with tears in their eyes, or groan as they ſaw me paſs, and earneſtly conjure me not to abandon the children, after having ſo well ſerved the father.

It is with regret I am obliged to confeſs, that the inner part of the palace, and what is called the court, preſented me an object greatly different; there I only ſaw faces either calm and compoſed, and which afflicted me ſo much the more, as they endeavoured, but in vain, to appear afflicted; or faces ſo gay, as added indignation to my grief. When I came into the queen's preſence, all the little conſtancy with which I had armed myſelf ſo totally left me, that I broke into tears and cries. She no longer found in herſelf that fortitude with which ſhe had prepared to ſee me: and we together made up a ſcene truly affecting. She gave orders that the young king ſhould be brought to me, whoſe tender careſſes gave a new aſſault to my heart, which I could with the utmoſt difficulty ſuſtain. I cannot remember what this young prince then ſaid to me, or what I ſaid to him; all I know is, that they were ſcarce able to tear him from my arms, in which I held him cloſely embraced. "My ſon, ſaid the "queen his mother to him, this is M. de Sully, "you muſt love him well, for he was one of the "beſt and moſt faithful ſervants of the king your "father, and I entreat him to continue to ſerve you "in the ſame manner." The queen and I had ſome other diſcourſe together, without being able to ceaſe weeping for a moment: ſhe afterwards ſaid, that it was the ſight of me, and one other perſon in the court with which ſhe had been moſt affected.

A RECEPTION attended with ſuch marks of diſtinction and confidence, reduced all the princes, lords, and members of the council who were near the queen, to the neceſſity of outvying each other in proteſtations of friendſhip, ſervice, and attachment: yet certainly they did not deceive me, for I knew their hearts as well as themſelves: I was convinced already, that in the ſcheme they had formed of taking advantage of the preſent conjuncture, to increaſe their riches, and arrogate new dignities to themſelves, though at the expence of the good of the ſtate, the honour of the king, and the public welfare, I might be ſure of being the mark at which all their blows would be aimed: becauſe they themſelves, in the firmneſs of my mind, and the ſeverity of my regulations, had reaſon to expect inſurmountable obſtacles to their deſigns; of this they had already examples ſo ſufficient to convince them, that the only part they had to take was to endeavour to get me removed entirely from the adminiſtration of affairs; therefore when, in the ſequel, they raiſed all ſorts of batteries againſt me in the queen's opinion (taking it for granted that they had not done it before) when the Jeſuits and their adherents made the nuncio ſolicit the arret for my diſmiſſion, when my partners in the council and the finances ſet Conchini and his wife to work, to inſinuate to the two princes of the blood, that they would never have any real authority while I continued to be at the head of affairs; and that if they removed me from the adminiſtration, it muſt neceſſarily fall into their hands; when they made all the others believe, that to depend upon Conchini was to be truly great; in a word, when I ſaw them all labouring with equal ardour for my fall, nothing more happened than what I had foreſeen and foretold.

THE firſt thing the parliament proceeded to, after the king's death was declared, was to appoint the queen-mother regent. It was thought neceſſary that the young king ſhould go thither in perſon, to hold his bed of juſtice, and confirm this nomination *. The morning after the king's aſſaſſination was the day appointed for this ceremony. It was ſcarce light when I received a meſſage from the queen, deſiring I would attend his majeſty to the parliament. I made every excuſe I could think of to avoid it; I even feigned myſelf ſo much indiſpoſed, that it would be impoſſible for me to get out of bed that whole day. I felt indeed an extreme repugnance againſt doing what they required of me; but it was abſolutely neceſſary to give the queen this ſatisfaction, who importuned me inceſſantly. The ſound of the drums and muſical inſtruments giving new force to my grief, and judging that a face bathed with tears would but ill ſuit with the cries of gratulation and joy with which every place reſounded; I preſſed through the croud, and was amongſt the firſt in the hall of the Auguſtins, where the parliament was held.

Two or three cardinals who, like me, had been deſirous of avoiding the preſs, were, with ſome other perſons, already in the hall, and had taken their ſeats at the upper end of the bench deſtined for the eccleſiaſtics, which was on the left ſide of the throne prepared for his majeſty: the biſhops of Langres, Beauvais, and Noyon, coming in afterwards, theſe gentlemen, who had taken it into their heads that their quality of peers gave them a right to precede the princes and cardinals in parliament, would not ſit below the latter, who they found had already placed themſelves, but went to the bench on the right hand, and took their places at the upper end of it: I found them there when I entered, and told them

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* See the form and particulars of this ceremony in the Merc. Franç. and other hiſtorians, anno 1610. In the council which met to adviſe whether the queen ought to go to the parliament, the duke of Sully only ſaid, "That as there was no law to forbid the queen's "going to the parliament, it was a matter of indifference whether "ſhe went or not." Matthieu, ibid. p. 4.

with great civility, that it was not their place, and adviſed them, as their friend, to go to the left ſide, ſince they could not expect that the temporal peers, who would enter immediately, would ſuffer them quietly to keep poſſeſſion of the right ſide. They were going to ſtun me with their uſual diſtinctions of peers of an older creation and ſpiritual peers, which in their opinions raiſed them greatly above the new dukes. The debate was not carried to any length by me; I only told them, that they would ſoon be convinced who was in the right: which accordingly happened. The affair was inſtantly decided, and they were obliged to go over to the left ſide; where, finding the cardinals not diſpoſed to give them the upper hand, they choſe to go out, rather than ſubmit to this regulation, and did not aſſiſt at the ceremony. As for me, though I was preſent, I interpoſed no farther in the diſpute. The queen had reaſon to be ſatisfied with what paſſed *; every thing was granted her, without even collecting the votes.

It was not long before I diſcovered, that although, in appearance, they ſeemed to neglect none of the formalities which are generally obſerved in the ſettling a lawful regency, although they would have the alterations, which they already ſuffered to be perceived in the adminiſtration, paſs for the common and neceſſary effect of a change of government; in a word, although they ſtrove to make it be believed, that their ſole view, by this manner of government, was to give more ſtrength and grandeur to the authority of an infant king: yet thoſe by whoſe advice the queen acted, thought of nothing in reality but how, under this mask, to aggrandize themſelves. All that ſhow of regularity vaniſhed upon a nearer view; while in its place, we beheld real violations of order, which terrified the few, the very few good ſubjects ſtill remaining. I thought myſelf obliged,

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* See the hiſtorians quoted before, for the manner of this ceremony.

and in ſome degree entitled, to make them ſenſible that I ſaw theſe abuſes, and that I diſapproved of them: but the time of free remonſtrances, which the grief for the king's death the firſt day, and the diſtraction of affairs the ſecond, ſuffered ſtill to ſubſiſt, was paſt on the third: nor was it much longer before they entirely ſhook off the yoke of conſtraint, and appeared no more with a compoſure of behaviour, and an affectation of ſorrow, which had done too much violence to their real ſentiments: ſtupidity, or the want of a true ſubject for joy, produced this effect in ſome; in others their natural levity of temper; and in others, the mere movement of public and private affairs; but, above all, the fear of diſpleaſing thoſe perſons whoſe examples gave laws to the court.

Let us take a view then of this new world after the three firſt days. Were we to ſtop at appearances, and all that was done to ſtrike the eyes, the Louvre might have been thought to have ſtill mourned; all the refinements of melancholy pomp were to be found there; the hangings with which the ceilings, the walls, and floors were covered; the furniture, and all the apparatus of public mourning, made the apartments of ſtate in this palace look like the diſmal abode of death and ſorrow. But were we to go a little farther, and conſider the countenances and behaviour of thoſe who were appointed to do the honours of this ſad ceremony, the thing might appear a little doubtful; for if there were ſome among them who ſhed real tears, and whoſe groans indeed proceeded from the heart, there were others who gave ſufficient indications of very different emotions. But if we deſcend from thence, and viſit the lower apartments, which were called the ground-floors, there we may form a true notion of the diſpoſition all hearts were in; that magnificence which was baniſhed from every other part of the palace found an aſylum there: gold, purple, embroidery, and the moſt ſumptuous ornaments, made this a ſcene of pleaſure and delight; luxury was there in its utmoſt profuſion. Myſelf, and a ſmall number of true Frenchmen, never entered thoſe apartments, without feeling our hearts torn with grief and rage; to behold, in a place where every object ought to have reminded us of the public loſs, all the appearance of joy, triumph, and exultation. I bluſh to ſay, that notwithſtanding the artifice which was uſed to conceal this ſpectacle of inſenſibility and ingratitude from the eyes of the public, yet it was too often diſcloſed, by the burſts of laughter, the exclamations of joy, and the ſongs of gladneſs, which were heard to proceed from thoſe places: nor indeed were they filled with any but happy perſons, or thoſe that believed themſelves ſo. Here it was that the true court reſided, and where the councils were held, as well thoſe general ones which were called for ſhow, and compliance with cuſtom, as the private ones, wherein they knew how to render ineffectual all the prudent reſolutions that had been taken in the former.

The queen admitted none into theſe ſecret councils, which were held at the moſt unſeaſonable hours, but Conchini and his wife, the pope's nuncio, the Spaniſh ambaſſador, the chancellor, and the chevalier de Sillery, the duke of Epernon, Villeroi, Jeannin, and Arnaud, (who, as well as Jeannin, from having been entirely devoted to me, became no leſs attached to Conchini) Duret the phyſician (who, however, ſoon fell from this high degree of favour) Dollé, and father Cotton. It is not difficult to gueſs the ſubjects of their conſultations; the union of the crowns of France and Spain, the renouncing of all the moſt ancient alliances of the crown with foreign princes, the repealing of all edicts of pacification, the deſtruction of the proteſtants, the expulſion of all of them who were in place, the diſgrace of thoſe who would not receive the yoke of the new favourites, the diſſipation of the treaſures amaſſed by the deceaſed king, and applied by them to bribe the covetous and ambitious to their intereſt, and to load with riches and authority thoſe who were going to be raiſed to the firſt dignities of the ſtate; in a word, a thouſand projects as pernicious to the king and the kingdom, as advantageous to our greateſt enemies, made up the grand object of all their views.

To the public council, which was held punctually every day, were ſummoned the prince of Conti and the count of Soiſſons (the prince of Condé was not yet returned to France) the cardinal de Joyeuſe, the conſtable, the dukes of Maine and Guiſe, and the duke of Bouillon, as ſoon as he ſhould arrive, marechal Briſſac, Châteaunefu, Pontcarré, De-Vic ‡, Caumartin, and myſelf. Some of theſe gentlemen loudly exclaimed againſt altering our ſyſtem of politics: but the ſubjects moſt frequently diſcuſſed by this council, were upon the means of increaſing the royal revenues, of diminiſhing the taille and other impoſts, and of augmenting the penſions of the grandees, and procuring them ſeveral other advantages. The preſident Jeannin, ever loud and obſtinate, made himſelf be heard above all the others. It was ſaid, that this man had been known to promiſe mountains of gold to every one. Some perſons, who ſtill retained the candour and frankneſs of the old council, and who could neither diſguiſe their own ſentiments, nor flatter thoſe of others, joined their endeavours to mine, to ſhew the groſs contradiction there was in pretending to encreaſe the expences, while they were diminiſhing the revenues.

I WAS deſirous of avoiding the reproach of my own conſcience, for ſuffering by my ſilence, ſuch maxims to gain ground: I at firſt combated them by arguments, and flattered myſelf, that if the advantage was to remain on the ſide of reaſon, we ſhould have carried our point; but we ſoon found that ignorance was but the leaſt of thoſe vices we had to encounter. It was by the moſt magnificent promiſes (of which however, thoſe that related to the people's relief were never performed) that the new government ſought to make friends, and to obliterate, and even to bring into contempt, that wiſe frugality to which the glory of the laſt reign was owing. Jeannin, indeed, had a particular end to anſwer by theſe meaſures; his ſcheme being to get the entire diſpoſal of the finances, what better methods could be made uſe of to raiſe himſelf to this poſt, than to inſinuate, that in the new ſuperintendant they ſhould all find that facility and readineſs to oblige which the grandees complained they had not met with in the old one? It may be ſaid, that he had not the abilities requiſite for this employment which he at length obtained; but he knew how to enrich himſelf, his relations, and allies, by it, eſpecially Caſtille [*], with whom money muſt certainly be of very little value, ſince all thoſe pieces of furniture which in other houſes are made of iron or wood, in his were of ſilver: in this point of magnificence he was inferior to none but Conchini.

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‡ Dominic De-Vic, vice-admiral, &c. who has been mentioned before; he died this year at Paris, ſoon after his return from Calais, of which he was governor; it was aſſerted, that his death was occaſioned by the grief he was ſeized with, on ſeeing again the place to which he had ſeen the corpſe of Henry IV. brought after he was aſſaſſinated. Merc. Franç. an. 1610. p. 529.

I WAS abſolutely convinced that I was offering remedies to voluntary ills, when I ſaw that my freedom of ſpeech, which had at firſt been ſuffered as being an habitual fault, began to appear ſo troubleſome, that I eaſily read upon every countenance the pain it gave them to reſtrain themſelves; and that they would ſoon get rid of thoſe ſmall remains of reſpect. From that time I looked upon myſelf as a man who would very ſoon become ſomething worſe than uſeleſs, and ſeriouſly took up a reſolution to

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[‡] Peter de Caſtille was comptroller-general, and ſuperintendant of the finances.

diſengage myſelf by degrees from a place where I could not ſupport my former reputation without infinite danger, or ſwim with the ſtream without total diſhonour: for, indeed, what influence could the voice of one ſingle man, who had nothing but harſh things to ſay, have over a queen who was uſed to the alluring language and ſervile complaiſance of flatterers and new favourites? It is a thing ſo rare for a miniſter to ſupport himſelf with his ſovereign, by ſuch ſentiments alone, as ariſe from a veneration mixed with awe (which however will always be the caſe if that miniſter be an honeſt man) that one ought not to expect ſuch a miracle will happen in two reigns ſucceſſivley; therefore when my relations, my friends, and my domeſtics, whoſe affection for me made them ſee things in a very different light, united their endeavours to prevail upon me to continue my cares, which they aſſured me might ſtill be uſeful; or even when they repreſented to me that it was poſſible ſome good might be extracted from the new plan, my uſual anſwer was, that the blow which God had permitted, was ſo plain a declaration that he had delivered up France to her evil deſtiny, that to endeavour to hinder its effect, was to tempt his vengeance. One of my people, that very Arnaud whom I mentioned a little above, had the inſolence to ſay to me one day, when he ſaw me extremely dejected with this thought, that I was much to blame to afflict myſelf thus about what might happen; that for the future there might be very conſiderable ſums laid up in the exchequer, which the great expences of the deceaſed king in buildings, gaming, dogs, birds, and miſtreſſes, rendered it impoſſible to do while he was living. This ſpeech appeared ſo criminal in his mouth, that, in the firſt emotions of my rage, I called him baſe, wicked, and ungrateful; threatened to ſtrike him, and forbad him ever to appear in my preſence again. It was but too true what I reproached him with in that moment, that his baſe compliances, and wicked counſels, were going to open the firſt way to diſſipation and diſorder.

THE count of Soiſſons was not at Paris during theſe tranſactions. Some diſguſt which he had taken at the queen's coronation, on account of the robes which the king's natural ‡ children were to appear in there, furniſhed him with a pretence for retiring to one of his houſes, ſo that he was not a witneſs of any thing that paſſed, either as to the king's death, or on the following days; and did not come to Paris till after the queen was declared regent, and all the other diſpoſitions made. This was a new ſubject for his complaints. He was greatly offended that they had proceeded to a buſineſs of ſuch importance as ſettling the regency, without giving him notice of it, and even without ſtaying till he could be preſent; for he affirmed, that this ceremony could not be performed without him: and taking it into his head, that, to make himſelf feared, it was only neceſſary that he ſhould bluſter and talk high, he found fault with many things in the form of this ceremony, boaſting that no perſon would have courage enough to ſay, in his preſence, that only a ſmall number of the preſidents and counſellors concurred in the nomination of the queen in the firſt meeting of the parliament; and added, that on the following day, when the king, the princes, the cardinals, the peers, and other officers of the crown were preſent, being afraid that, if the queſtion was put to the vote, they ſhould meet with oppoſition, they contented themſelves with a mere confirmation of the act of the foregoing day. He ſaw plainly that he would not be liſtened to, unleſs he could make his party very conſiderable; and, for this purpoſe, he conſtrained himſelf ſo far, as to ſeek the friendſhip of ſeveral courtiers, with whom he had not the leaſt connexion. But there were two things which obſtructed his ſucceſs; his haughty and inſolent temper, and the preference the courtiers thought their intereſt required they ſhould give to others, who they found were likely to have the diſpoſal of all favours; and being as much diſliked by the princes, and his own brother, the prince of Conti, as by all the reſt, he ſaw himſelf obliged at length to yield.

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‡ It was on account of the ducheſs of Vendôme's robes. The king had a great deſire that ſhe, like the other princeſſes of the blood-royal, ſhould wear them ſprinkled with flower-de-luces, which the count of Soiſſons would never conſent to.

I WAS one of thoſe whom for ſome time the count of Soiſſons was deſirous of calling friend †, but it was not long before he gave me every proof of being a real enemy; and upon the following occaſion. The count had often preſſed the late king upon an affair of which I have already made ſome mention: it was to make an agreement with him for ſome claims, which he alledged he had in Piédmont in right of his wife, who was of the houſe of Montaſſié: his importunity obliged Henry to remit the examination of this matter to me; and the profeſſion I have always made of ſincerity and attachment to the intereſts of my king, forced me to repreſent to him, that this ſtep would be attended with great inconvenience to him; that he was going to engage himſelf in proceſſes without number, and without end, againſt the pope, the apoſtolical chamber, the duke of Savoy, and ſeveral cardinals, all of whom had pretenſions upon theſe eſtates, and many already in poſſeſſion of them; and that he would not be able to extricate himſelf in leſs than ten years out of that maze of different intereſts; and it being neceſſary, for the advancement of his great deſigns, that he ſhould be well with the pope and the duke of Savoy, he muſt carefully avoid entering into any diſcuſſion which might make them his enemies. There needed no more to make Henry lay aſide all thought of it.

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† "M. de Sully was not one of the laſt to court the good will of "this prince, whom he knew he had offended; therefore, to make "his peace with him, he went immediately to wait on him; and, "after many excuſes and mean ſubmiſſions, which, had his maſter "been living, he would never have made, beſought his excellence to "pardon thoſe faults which properly were not his, but the late "king's, by whoſe commands he had acted in every inſtance: with "which acknowledgment the count was, or at leaſt appeared to be, "content; and, having embraced him, declared himſelf his friend, "as formerly; and Sully proteſted he was his ſervant, as he always "had been." Mem. Hiſt. de France, p. 317.

Upon the death of this prince, the count of Soiſſons reſumed this affair with the new council. In every thing which might be conſidered as a matter of mere favour, he did not ſcruple to form any intrigue which might procure him what he demanded. I am almoſt aſhamed to repeat the methods he made uſe of to attain his ends. The count, with the aſſiſtance of Conchini, counterfeited the ſignature, and made uſe of the ſeal of the deceaſed king; and thus gave an authentic form to a pretended contract of ſale between king Henry and him, for all the eſtates in queſtion. To make this writing leſs liable to a ſuſpicion of an antedate, they thought it neceſſary that my name ſhould appear there, which obliged them to requeſt my ſignature; and this was the greateſt difficulty they had to get over. They repreſented to me, that the moment was now come, which would abſolutely fix the count, either as my friend or my enemy. They brought a thouſand other motives to prevail upon me: but I ſtill perſiſted, not only to refuſe my ſignature, but alſo to aſſert publickly, that this affair having been begun and ended by Henry and myſelf, no one could know better than I did that his intentions were abſolutely contrary to what they were now endeavouring to perſuade me of; and I told them plainly, that they preſented me a deed falſely ſigned and ſealed: ſo that, deſpairing to vanquiſh my obſtinacy, they drew up another contract like the former in every reſpect, except that my name was omitted.

The count of Soiſſons and I were upon theſe terms when he quarrelled [‡] publickly with his brother, the prince of Conti, and, on his account, with the whole family of Guiſe. The queen ſent for me to acquaint me with the expedients ſhe had thought of to accommodate all their differences, which were to be tried when the council was met; and, till then, ſhe entreated me not to eſpouſe the cauſe of either party, that I might, with greater propriety, act the part of a mediator between both, when the time for it came; to which I readily agreed. Accordingly, when we were ſeated in council where the affair was to be treated, and I had already given my opinion favourably for the count, this prince ſent Briſſac to tell the queen, in a whiſper, that he entreated her not to permit any of thoſe perſons, who were held in ſuſpicion by him, to deliberate upon this matter, and that he excepted againſt me [‡] in particular, as being a kinſman and friend to the houſe of Guiſe. “ He ought not to except againſt M. de Sully, re“ plied the queen aloud; for there is no perſon “ in the council whoſe judgment has been ſo fa“ vourable to him as his.” I confeſs I was greatly ſhocked at this treatment, and I could not help ſaying, as I roſe up, " Madam, I except againſt my- " ſelf, ſince he deſires it; and I am going this mo- " ment to offer my ſervice to his brother, and to " M. de Guiſe."

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[‡] This quarrel aroſe from the coaches of thoſe two princes having been drove againſt one another and their coachmen having fought. The duke of Guiſe going the day after to the prince of Conti, by the queen's order, to endeavour to make up this difference, went by the count of Soiſſons's palace, with about twenty-five or thirty horſe. Nothing more was requiſite to ſet the count at variance with him alſo; and this double quarrel raiſed ſo great an uproar in Paris, that the queen, being afraid of a general inſurrection, gave orders that all the inhabitants ſhould hold themſelves in readineſs to put up the chains, and take arms all over the city, at the firſt order; and ſhe ſent a captain of the guards to keep near each of the two princes. We muſt look in Baſſompierre's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 308, & ſeq. for all the particulars of theſe differences, ſince he himſelf contributed greatly to appeaſe them. See alſo L'Hiſtoire de la Mere & du Fils, Vol. I. p. 123, and Le Merc. Franç. anno 1611, in which is contained what the duke of Sully ſaid to the queen in favour of the duke of Guiſe.

[‡] The author of the life of the duke of Epernon informs us, that the count of Soiſſons carried his hatred to the duke of Sully ſo far as to ſollicit that duke to ſuffer him to get that miniſter aſſaſſinated even in the Louvre; and that he took it much amiſs, the duke of Epernon refuſed him the aſſiſtance of the guards, whom he commanded, to ſtrike this blow. P. 249.

THE third quarrel I had with the count of Soiſſons happened, as the former, in the council, on occaſion of the government of Normandy, which he wanted to have conferred upon himſelf. The queen deſired to have my opinion, which I begged ſhe would diſpenſe with me from giving; but, not being able to prevail, I told her that it was impoſſible for me to adviſe her to take from the deceaſed king's children the offices and employments they were already poſſeſſed of, to beſtow upon any other perſon whatever. At that time the count of Soiſſons and Conchini were not upon good terms with each other, and this prince had even oppoſed the favourite's getting the poſt of firſt gentleman of the bed-chamber for himſelf, and the archbiſhopric of Tours for his wife's brother ‡; but they were reconciled upon this occaſion, becauſe they mutually aſſiſted each other; and by theſe means both obtained what they demanded. The ſame method was uſed by all who had any pretenſions to vacant poſts and employments, and in a very little time every thing was carried in the council by intrigue and cabal. " The " time of kings is over, ſaid one to another, and that " of the princes and grandees is come; and all they " have now to do, is to ſet a high value upon them- " ſelves."

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‡ Stephen Galigaï, brother of Leonora Galigaï. He was then abbot of Marmoûtier. " He had learned to read four years, ſays " L'Etoile, and yet knew nothing of the matter; he was called the " baboon of the court, on account of his uglineſs and mean aſpect. " The monks would not accept of him as their abbot, ſaying they had " been uſed to be under the command of princes, and not of joiners, " like him, who was juſt come from handling the plane." " But " it is certain, ſays Amelot, that the family of Galigaï is reckoned " amongſt the noble families of Florence." He went back to Italy after the death of the marſhal D'Ancre and his wife.

All the moſt conſiderable perſons of the court were ſummoned to an extraordinary council, which was held to deliberate upon the uſe that ſhould be made of thoſe great armaments ſet on foot by the late king, a little before his death, for the enterpriſe of Cleves. The diverſity of opinions was infinite: ſome were for laying them totally aſide: others, and thoſe not the leaſt numerous, were for performing all the promiſes made by Henry the Great to the German princes concerned in the affair: the greateſt number were for mediums between theſe two opinions ſo oppoſite to each other: ſome adviſed that we ſhould keep only to the eight thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe, expreſſed in the general contract made by king Henry with his allies: others, that we ſhould content ourſelves with maintaining the two regiments of French cavalry already in their ſervice: a third party voted for embarking ſome foot ſoldiers at Calais; theſe that we ſhould ſend them no ſupplies of men, but aſſiſt them with money; thoſe that we ſhould keep our whole army upon the frontier without acting, except in a caſe of abſolute neceſſity: and others, that we ſhould diſband the greateſt part of our troops, and keep no more than was neceſſary for our own ſecurity. All this was intermixed with overtures of agreement and pacification, to be made between the contending powers, ſuch as juſt then occurred to them.

It appeared to me that they all expected, with ſome impatience, my opinion, becauſe I had been more engaged in the affair by the late king, than any other to whom he had communicated it. I began by making, what I judged, a very juſt diſtinction between thoſe troops already drawn together into the body of an army, and thoſe which were ſtill levying; between thoſe deſtined for the field, and thoſe which had been ſent into Dauphiné. With regard to the firſt therefore I concluded, that ſince, according to all appearances, and from the preſent ſituation of affairs, moſt part of the deſigns of Henry the Great would not be carried into execution, it was neceſſary to ſuſpend immediately all levies not begun, ſtop thoſe which were making, and pay and diſmiſs all that were made, and already upon their march; becauſe, ſince all this muſt be done ſooner or later, it would ſave the king ſo much money in the expences of ſending backwards and forwards, and the people ſo much trouble and oppreſſion. The death of him whom I had regarded as the great mover of this whole enterprize, ſeemed in my opinion to have made ſo great a change in it, that I believe I ſhould have given the ſame advice, even tho' I had found no ill intentioned perſon amongſt us; but neither could I conform to the opinions of thoſe who were for betraying our allies, with whom we were engaged by the moſt ſolemn promiſes; or deceiving them, by affecting to take ſteps to procure an accommodation between them, or by granting them feeble ſuccour, which would be of ſcarce any uſe to them.

THIS was the anſwer I made to the greateſt part of thoſe ambiguous opinions, which were for and againſt a thing done at the ſame time. I made them ſenſible that it highly concerned the glory of the late king, ſince his greateſt deſigns could not be accompliſhed, which might in ſome meaſure give oom for ſuſpicions that he had never really formed them, they ſhould at leaſt have all their effect with regard to what he had declared, promiſed, and already begun: that it was for the intereſt of our own reputation with the foreign powers, that we ſhould not ſuffer them to believe the whole force of France was concentered in one ſingle man, and that we had ſo little reſpect for his memory. I concluded, therefore, that it was abſolutely neceſſary to ſend deputies immediately to the German princes, and to the prince of Orange, to know of them whether they really ſtood in need of the aſſiſtance of forces to help them to reduce thoſe ſtates which we were deſirous of ſecuring to them; for I thought they might do without them, if that was not their ſole motive for taking up arms; and, if they had occaſion for them, to know how many they demanded, and that upon their anſwer thoſe ſupplies ſhould advance immediately under the conduct of good officers, taking their route along the Maes, which was not indeed the moſt agreeable, nor the ſhorteſt way, but was the moſt ſecure, which was a matter of great importance; or elſe, that the whole army ſhould be diſbanded, except thirty thouſand foot, and ſix hundred troopers, who ſtrengthened by four cannons only and two culverins, ſhould form a flying camp, ready to go wherever there was any appearance of an action: and this I thought ſufficient to keep every place in order: that, till then, it was neceſſary to put the troops of Champaign into garriſon, after giving them their full pay.

I GAVE much the ſame advice, with reſpect to the army of Dauphiné, as it had been already raiſed to ſupport the duke of Savoy, who, in compliance with our requeſt, had, or probably would, embroil himſelf with all his neighbours; therefore it might be juſtly expected, that we ſhould either endeavour to reconcile him with the king of Spain, or put him in a condition to defend himſelf; and, as we could not take any reſolution upon this head till we had ſent another deputy to this prince, or perhaps till a long time afterwards, I adviſed that this army ſhould be likewiſe put into convenient winter-quarters, after making ſo exact a review of them, that no falſe muſter might be apprehended, till there was occaſion for them, or till they were diſbanded altogether.

I FOUND that I was heard with attention: my reaſons ſeemed to have made a general impreſſion; but with this difference, that ſenſible and well diſpoſed perſons did not ſcruple to diſcover this effect, by ſhewing ſigns of approbation, and even by applauſes; whereas all the others not only carefully concealed it, either through vanity, negle&#x0063;t, or rather through jealouſy, but alſo combated by reaſons with eagerneſs and heat. I took care to inform Bethune, my couſin, of all this, who, in a letter he wrote to me, deſired my advice upon the alteration which the public loſs muſt neceſſarily make in his embaſſy to the German princes. I ſhall not tranſcribe his letter, nor my anſwer to it, becauſe they contained nothing eſſentially different from what has been juſt ſaid, except perhaps that I examined more particularly the good or bad effects of the advice I had given in the council: this, for example, is a thing that merits to be well obſerved, that which way ſoever it ſhall happen that a body of troops may find entrance into Germany to join the confederate princes, that entrance would be accompanied with great hazard, though the body conſiſted of ten thouſand men, unleſs the allies on their ſide facilitated their advance by meeting them within ten or twelve leagues of our frontiers. The ſcheme of embarking them at Calais, if that was choſen, would be likewiſe inconvenient; it would ſupply our confederates with foot only, and that to no greater number than eight thouſand; and it was even neceſſary that we ſhould have a right underſtanding with each other. I forewarned Bethune with reſpect to a thing which required the attention of him and his correſpondents, which was, that France, by changing her maſter, had changed every thing elſe; and I ſhewed my aſtoniſhment, that the princes who employed him ſhould expreſs their ſchemes, deſires, and reſolutions, in ſo unintelligible a manner. I left it to his diſcretion to judge what uſe he ought to make of a letter, in which it was neceſſary I ſhould avoid explaining myſelf clearly upon ſeveral things: as for advice, I ſaid, I had no other to give him, but to continue, 'till he received new orders, to act as he had done hitherto, and I promiſed him faithfully to take care of his intereſts. This letter was dated May 24.

Some days afterwards I was ſummoned to a more particular council upon this affair. M. de Jacop, ambaſſador from the duke of Savoy, ſuſpecting that the reſolutions taken by the members of the new council were not very favourable to his maſter, had preſſed the queen regent to declare her intentions to him as ſoon as poſſible, that his highneſs might take ſuch meaſures thereupon as his intereſt required. We were to conſult, therefore, upon the declarations proper to be made to this ambaſſador. When I came to the Louvre, in the morning, I found only the conſtable, the chancellor, and Villeroi, with the queen; Gêvres and Loménie had been there, but Villeroi had perſuaded the queen to ſend them away, for which Gêvres made bitter complaints. I ſuſpected, by the ſtudied geſtures and the winding diſcourſe which one of theſe gentleman began to make, that there was ſomething they wanted to conceal from me. "Madam," ſaid I to the queen, with my uſual frankneſs, "I know not for what end you "have been pleaſed to ſummon me hither; my "preſence either hinders theſe gentleman from ex"plaining themſelves, or elſe they are come only "to entrap one another. The buſineſs I perceive "relates to the duke of Savoy; it is well known "that I am not in great friendſhip with him: how"ever, ſince his intereſts are at preſent connected "with thoſe of France, and that he is (at leaſt in "expectation) an ally of the royal family, I have "the ſame regard for him as I ought to have for all "true Frenchmen. I am of opinion, that the king "is indiſpenſably obliged to protect and defend "him; and that his majeſty's honour, and the glory "of the kingdom, are both concerned not to ſuffer "that the leaſt injury ſhould be offered to his per"ſon and dominions."

I perceived the queen to ſmile at this ſpeech, and whiſper Villeroi; then, turning to me, ſhe ſaid, "M. de Sully, it is true we are met to conſult upon

" the duke of Savoy's affairs; but there are others " of ſtill greater conſequence, which it is neceſſary " we ſhould attend to. You ſee what quarrels are " riſen among many of the grandees of the kingdom, whoſe ambition and avarice, you ſay, are " inſatiable. I entreat you to think of ſome remedy " for this evil, that it may be propoſed in the firſt " council. With reſpect to M. de Savoy, theſe " gentlemen and I, before you came, had talked of " that buſineſs; and we are all of this opinion, " that a reconciliation between France and Spain " is moſt for our intereſt; and for this purpoſe we " are determined to ſend one of the princes of the " blood to Madrid, on occaſion of the death of my " lord the king, who ſhall be accompanied with a " perſon well inſtructed in our affairs, and upon " whoſe ſecrecy we may ſecurely rely. He ſhall " ſet on foot this reconciliation, and propoſe an alliance between the two crowns by a double marriage, which I know the Spaniards ſtill wiſh for as " ardently as they did formerly; and while this " affair is negociating, in which I foreſee no great " difficulty, or that it will be long protracted, we " muſt flatter the duke of Savoy in his firſt hopes " and expectations, till we can declare ourſelves " without danger."

THIS reſolution gave me great uneaſineſs, which I diſcovered by my ſilence and ſhrugging up my ſhoulders. The queen took notice of it, and preſſed me to tell her my opinion. I repreſented to her, that we could not, without expoſing ourſelves to the reproach of having violated our faith, abandon a prince who had broken all his engagements with Spain, and openly declared himſelf againſt that crown *, at the

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* By the treaty of Bruſol, which had been concluded on the 25th of April. See it in Nivers's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 880. The duke of Savoy, being abandoned by the new council in France, could not eſcape the reſentments of the court of Spain, but by the moſt humiliating ſtep a crowned head can poſſibly be reduced to. His ſon came to throw himſelf at the king of Spain's feet, beſeeching him

perſuaſion of the deceaſed king; that, ſince we had altered our views, we ought to give him notice of it, and at the ſame time conceal this ſtep from the king of Spain, or rather make him believe we had acted very differently, till, by a general reconciliation, we had put thoſe out of danger, who would not have been in it but through us. Theſe arguments, however juſt and reaſonable, made no impreſſion on the queen and her counſellors; nor did they even approve the medium my laſt words had hinted at, but coldly told me, that this way would engage them in a train of tedious negotiations. I replied with that confidence which a good cauſe inſpires, that I found the ſacrificing the duke of Savoy was a point determined on, and appeared to me to have been ſo before this conſultation. I drew preſages, no leſs certain to the diſadvantage of our allies, from all the looks and ſigns of intelligence, which I ſurpriſed between the queen, the chancellor, and Villeroi: but the new counſellors, and the confidants of that princeſs, ſoon threw off all reſtraint, and declared their ſentiments freely; the deceaſed king's government, ſo wiſe, ſo gentle, and ſo glorious for France, was condemned almoſt publicly, and even deſpiſed and ridiculed: at one time, they treated his deſigns as mere chimeras; at another they repreſented him as a weak puſilanimous prince, incapable of taking any noble reſolution. It was not enough to leave the death of this great prince unpuniſhed; they added to that neglect all ſorts of outrages againſt

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to take the duke his father, and all his houſe, under his royal protection. He told the king, that he embraced his knees, that he had recourſe to his clemency, and that, with the moſt humble ſubmiſſion, he aſked his pardon for the faults he had been guilty of againſt him, &c. Siri moſt certainly miſtakes his aim, if he pretends to make us admire the politics of the new council, by giving us ſuch inſtances as this of their proceedings. One muſt be as much prejudiced as this writer againſt Henry IV. and the duke of Sully, and as violent a partiſan of the Spaniards, to approve of a manner of acting ſo oppoſite to that juſtice and generoſity France has always profeſſed to ſhew.

his memory, and, unhappily for us, heaven, which reſerved to itſelf this vengeance, ſuffered envy and ingratitude to triumph in their ſucceſs.

I RETURNED home full of grief at what I ſaw and heard. "We are going," ſaid I to madame de Sully, whoſe prudence I well knew, "to fall under "the domination of Spain and the jeſuits: all true "Frenchmen, and proteſtants eſpecially, muſt look "well to their ſafety; for they will not continue "long in tranquillity." This reflection kept me in a profound reverie all dinner-time. The biſhop of Montpelier came to viſit me in the afternoon: he entreated me to give him an opportunity of conferring with me in my cloſet, from whence, in about half an hour, I let him out by a private door; for he did not deſire to be known, and therefore hid his face with his handkerchief, that none of my people might ſee it. "I have heard ſome news juſt now," ſaid I to my wife, and three or four perſons in whom I confided; "a ſecret council has been held at the "houſe of the nuncio Ubaldini, at which were preſent the chancellor, Conchini, Villeroi, the biſhop "of Bezieres, and another perſon whoſe name was "not known, but he was thought to be the duke "of Epernon: they condemned, they even ſpoke "with ſcorn and contempt of the deceaſed king's "deſigns: nor was I treated any better by them. "It was reſolved there to change entirely all the "maxims of our government, and all our political "alliances; to write to the pope, and promiſe to "be guided wholly by his advice; to enter into a ſtrict "union with Spain, and as ſoon as it was ſolidly "eſtabliſhed, all thoſe who ſhewed any diſlike to it, "eſpecially the huguenots, ſhould be removed from "the adminiſtration of affairs, and baniſhed the "court. If I am wiſe, continued I, I ſhall quietly "reſign all my poſts and employments, withdraw "all my money, or as much of it as I can; with "part of it purchaſe ſome ſtrong caſtle in one of

“ the moſt diſtant provinces, and keep the remainder “ for any exigencies that may happen.”

We were ſtill converſing upon this ſubject when the duke of Rohan, the two Bethunes, my brother, and my couſin, my ſon and two or three more of my moſt intimate friends came in, to whom I imparted what I had heard, and the reſolution I had taken upon it. They maintained that the information could not be true; that I was going to take a ſtep which would draw upon me the reproach of ingratitude to the ſtate, and to the children of the king, my benefactor; that I might very eaſily continue in the poſſeſſion of all my employments, and the exerciſe of all my offices; and that it would appear weak and mean to yield thus to my enemies at the firſt encounter. I could not be convinced by their arguments, nor could I bring them to admit of mine. “It is your deſire then, ſaid I at laſt, “ that I ſhould ſacrifice myſelf for the public, my “ family, and my friends; for I ſee plainly that your “ intereſt has great part in what you ſay to me. I “ will do ſo, ſince you force me to it; but remem- “ ber what I now tell you: this conceſſion will “ procure you no advantage, and will bring great “ trouble, loſs, and even diſgrace upon me; and I “ am going, added I, to give you a ſpecimen of it “ this moment.”

Having obſerved that the courtiers of the higheſt rank, and thoſe among them moſt remarkable for their pride and inſolence, had not diſdained to make advances, and meanly court the friendſhip of him who appeared to engroſs the queen’s favour, I concluded with myſelf that it would be very difficult to preſerve the ſame connection, and the ſame good intelligence (in appearance at leaſt) with the court, as I had formerly, unleſs I expreſſed ſome kind of regard for the new favourite. I had reſolved, in caſe this thought ſhould hold, to make uſe of Arnaud the younger for this purpoſe, who of himſelf was but too much diſpoſed to worſhip the riſing ſun. I had ſent for him in the morning, and acquainted him with the commiſſion I intended to give him ere long, to wait upon monſieur Conchini †, and to make him offers of ſervice in my name. I had already told him in what manner to turn his compliment, which I ſhall here give the reader: he was to tell Conchini, that I bore him no ill will for the height fortune was going to raiſe him to, by giving him the ſame place with the queen, as I had held with the late king; that I looked upon this event as one of thoſe, which happen too often in the order of providence, to occaſion much ſurpriſe; that the queen regent, by this advancement of him, juſtly repaid the attachment which his wife and himſelf had always ſhewn for her, and the good ſervices ſhe had received from them; that, by chuſing him to preſide over the adminiſtration of affairs, her majeſty doubtleſs expected to give to the king her ſon, and to the whole ſtate, an able and a faithful miniſter, two great qualities which are alone ſufficient to render a man, whoever he was, truly worthy of all the benefits her favour could ſecure to him; that, being equally perſuaded of the queen's laudable deſigns, and of his diſpoſition to ſecond them, I freely and cordially offered to him all thoſe meaſures which a long experience had furniſhed me with; an offer which he would find worthy of acceptance, if he reflected, that beſides the public good, which would neceſſarily reſult from it, he would reap ſome advantage to himſelf, in not purchaſing the favours which in the ſequel would be ſhowered on him, with the jealouſy of the nobles, the public hatred, the prejudice of affairs, and the oppreſſion of the people: that the only return I demanded of him for thus entering into his views of grandeur and intereſt, was to endeavour to gratify them by following thoſe maxims of government by which the late king had rendered his people happy, and his kingdom flouriſhing. Of theſe maxims, one which the preſent ſtate of affairs ſeemed to make moſt neceſſary, was not to accuſtom the men of buſineſs, and thoſe importunate petitioners that haunt the court, to depend upon obtaining all they ſhould demand: that, upon theſe conditions, he ſhould find me ſincerely diſpoſed to unite myſelf with him; and that from this moment I offered him my friendſhip, and requeſted his.

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† Concino Conchini, an Italian of mean birth, according to ſome; but a Florentine gentleman, according to others; better known under the title of marſhal D'Ancre, which he bore afterwards. He was the chief favourite of the queen regent, and loaded by her with riches and dignities. It is ſaid that, at his departure from Florence, one of his friends aſking him what he was going to do in France, his anſwer was, *either to make his fortune or periſh*; and that he did both the one and the other. He was killed in the Louvre by Vitry, on the 24th of Auguſt 1617, by order of king Lewis XIII. and at the ſolicitation of the nobility. The hatred which was conceived againſt him, has cauſed him to be painted in the blackeſt colours. Very few have done juſtice to the good qualities he poſſeſſed: but perhaps divine juſtice deſigned to revenge the horrible aſſaſſination of Henry the Great on the perſon of this Italian, one of thoſe whom it is the moſt difficult to acquit of it, ſuppoſing this murder was committed by a foreign inſtigation. His wife, the ſame Leonora Galigaï, ſo often mentioned in theſe Memoirs, was alſo put to death. They could find no other crimes to charge her with, but her having bewitched the queen her miſtreſs. "I have never, anſwered ſhe to "her judges, made uſe of any witchcraft but my wit; is it at all "to be wondered at that I governed the queen who had none? "Cardinal Richelieu, adds Amelot, owed the firſt ſteps towards his "fortune to this woman." They both were poſſeſſed of the magic of eloquence. We muſt ſearch in the hiſtories of Mary of Medicis, and of Lewis XIII. for whatever relates to this matter. There are alſo ſome anecdotes relating to it, which are curious enough, in Baſſompierre's Memoirs.

If the nature of my compliment be well conſidered, it will be granted that there were exceptions in theſe advances which took away all fear of having engaged myſelf too far; but, however, I believe it will be allowed that they ought to ſatisfy, and, if I may ſay ſo, flatter the vanity of him to whom they were made. Be that as it will, this meſſage appeared to me very proper to produce that effect, of which I was endeavouring to perſuade thoſe, who ſo obſtinately combated my reſolution. After having called

Arnaud, and given him his inſtructions in the preſence of theſe gentlemen, “ Go, ſaid I to him, to “ monſieur Conchini, and deliver the meſſage to him “ which I gave you in the morning, and return as “ ſoon as poſſible. I am much deceived, added I, “ if all theſe gentlemen,” addreſſing myſelf to them, “ who have ſo good an opinion of the queen, and “ her private counſellors, will not find, by Conchini’s anſwer, that there is nothing for me to “ expect.”

The company all ſtaid with me, waiting for an anſwer to my meſſage, which Arnaud brought us at the expiration of an hour, and in a manner which confirmed me in thoſe ſuſpicions I had before conceived againſt him. He began with praiſing Conchini for his great abilities, and his knowledge in matters of ſtate, dwelt upon his intereſt and powerful friends, and, ſlightly paſſing over what it moſt concerned me to know, he only told me, that he believed I had nothing to hope for from him, unleſs I was diſpoſed to comply with him in all things. “ I fancy I underſtand you,” ſaid I, with a * little rage I was not able to ſuppreſs; “ but tell me “ plainly what you would be at, and let me know “ what you and he ſaid to one another.” Then, as if forced to it, he gave us the following detail, ſhaking his head, and ſmiling malignantly as he ſpoke: That, as he entered Conchini’s houſe, he met the preſident Jeannin and his brother Arnaud, who were juſt coming out; that they ſeemed concerned at ſeeing him there, but that they did not ſpeak to him, nor he to them, which however I believe was not true; that a gentleman, whoſe name was Vincence, introducing him into Conchini’s apartment, ſaid to him, “ You belong, I think, to M. de “ Sully; would to God that we were to follow his “ councils, rather than thoſe of the two perſons

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* M. de Sully had a cuſtom of ſcratching his head, if any one vexed or embarraſſed him.

" who went from hence juſt now, and of ſeveral " others ſtill worſe than they are! we ſhould not " hurry things on at ſuch a rate as they urge us to " do; but the queen's authority and our fortune " would be eſtabliſhed in a more laudable manner, " and be far more certain and durable." That, entering Conchini's apartment, he ſaid to him, " What! monſieur Arnaud, are you come to viſit " me?" That hereupon he made him the compliment, and delivered the meſſage I had ſent by him, which he now repeated to us.

ARNAUD then ſtopped again, and, after ſome heſitation, ſaid, that the anſwer he had received was ſo very ſhort and dry, that he believed it was the beſt way not to repeat it. What ſtill remained for him to tell was preciſely that which I moſt wanted to know. After ſuffering himſelf to be urged a long time, he at length told us, that Conchini, without expreſſing any acknowledgment for the civil offers he had made him in my name, and even without ſeeming to give the leaſt attention to what he had ſaid, replied in very bad French, and in a proud and diſdainful accent, " How! M. Arnaud, " the duke of Sully then expects to govern the af- " fairs of France as he did in the late king's time: " he is much miſtaken; the queen being queen, it " is for her to diſpoſe of all things as ſhe pleaſes, " and I would adviſe him to be wholly guided by " her will: as for my wife and I, we have no oc- " caſion for the aſſiſtance or favour of any one; her " majeſty eſteems us becauſe we have ſerved her " faithfully: it is not in the power of any perſon " whatever to deprive us of her favour, or to hin- " der the effects of it. If M. de Sully has any re- " queſts to make, he will have more occaſion for " our aſſiſtance than we of his, which he has ſent " you to offer us; and poſſibly, if he knew how " much we are courted, he would be more reſpect- " ful than he has hitherto been: there is not any

" prince or nobleman of the court who has neglected to viſit us, except him and one more."

The company, who had not expected an anſwer ſo rude and inſolent, ſtared upon one another, and ſhrugged up their ſhoulders, but did not utter a word. " Well, gentlemen, ſaid I to them, do " you ſtill think it poſſible for me to keep my employments with honour, and that they will ſuffer " me to continue at the head of affairs as formerly?" They acknowledged that they had formed a wrong judgment of the true ſtate of things. This led us into many other converſations, which were very long, but of too little conſequence to be related here. In the end, however, it was concluded, that we ſhould allow ſomething to chance, precipitate nothing, and expect what the arrival of M. the prince of Condé would produce, upon whom many others, as well as myſelf, had founded great hopes.

It was from Pallot that I received the firſt information of this prince's having entered the kingdom; and he told me, at the ſame time, that, being not well furniſhed with ready money, I might make my court to him very ſucceſsfully, by paying him, without waiting till he demanded it, one half year of his penſion. Fortunately it was in my power to do him this favour, without incurring the reproach of having diſpoſed of the king's money at my own pleaſure, and without ſtaying for an order; for this ſum had been carried to account, though it was not yet delivered to the prince; becauſe the late king, being unwilling to let him know that he had ſtill indulgence enough for him to continue his penſion, waited till ſome opportunity ſhould offer when I might ſend it him as if from myſelf. I had already paid half the ſum to two perſons whom the prince had commiſſioned to demand it, and, remembering that they had told me about eight days ago that the money was ſtill in their hands, I ordered the whole ſum to be delivered to Pallot, who, when he paid it to the prince, took care to give him a juſt notion o this inſtance of my attachment to him. In reality, at that time, it was one of the greateſt ſervices I could have done him; and he was ſo much obliged by it, that he declared publicly, as I was informed by a ſon of M. D'Harcourt's †, that he would not enter Paris till he had ſeen me and aſked my advice, which he was reſolved to follow. As I then ſaw myſelf ſurrounded with none but enemies, I was truly rejoiced at having thus extinguiſhed that reſentment which the firſt prince of the blood had ſo long borne me. He did me the honour to depute to me, at different times, Meſſieurs de Rieux, de Montataire, de Clermont, and other gentlemen, to acquaint me with his ſituation and his deſigns.

The prince of Condé, upon the news of the king's death, had inſtantly ſet out for France, and hoped, by making extraordinary haſte, to arrive time enough to take advantage of the rights due to his rank upon this occaſion, which was exactly like that on which the king of Navarre his great uncle, had endeavoured to gain the preference before Catherine de Medicis; but being ſoon informed that the queen, without ſtaying for him, or for any other princes of the blood, without firſt ſettling a council of regency as the laws directed, or obſerving any of the uſual forms on ſuch occaſions, had been rather declared than choſen regent, he found that he could no longer indulge a hope of obtaining the regency, and even began to entertain ſome doubts about the treatment they were preparing for him at court, where, after this, his preſence could not fail of being unwelcome: but, as he imagined that nothing was more likely to give weight to his demands, than the reſpect and diſtinction which the nobles ſhould be obſerved to pay him upon this occaſion, he cauſed them to be ſounded, and gave them to underſtand, that he ſhould think himſelf obliged to all thoſe who ſhould come to meet him, and eſcort him into Paris.

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† Peter de Harcourt, marquis of Beuvron,

THIS propoſal was made to me as well as the reſt; but I thought the place I filled required that, before I complied with it, I ſhould obtain the queen's permiſſion, as ſhe now repreſented the perſon of the king. She did not expreſsly forbid me to go and meet the prince; but, by the manner in which ſhe received my requeſt, ſhe inſinuated that I ſhould do her pleaſure if I abſtained from ſhewing him that inſtance of reſpect. I alſo found, by the few words ſhe ſaid, that ſhe gave me, as well as others, liberty to chuſe between her and the princes of the blood; for it was apparent that ſhe did not expect to be upon good terms with them. It was probable, likewiſe, that the coldneſs and reſerve which appeared in her countenance, proceeded from ſome reſentment ſhe entertained againſt me for having paid the prince the money I have mentioned; for her confidents had diſcovered the affair, and did not fail to inform her of it; and ſhe, without doubt, had forgot that that ſum made an article of expence which had been inſerted in the accounts: it is likely alſo, that the council which was held, and which I forgot to mention till now, was one conſequence of this reſentment. It was there determined, that, till a new order, I ſhould be continued to have the direction of the finances, particularly of what related to the penſions of ſtate. I was apprehenſive that the queen wanted only ſuch an incident as this, to withdraw her favour from me entirely; and I was reſolved not to expoſe myſelf to her hatred, for a thing which did not appear to me to be of much importance. As to the prince, he diſpatched couriers upon couriers to prevail with me to alter my reſolution; and at length he ordered the gentlemen before mentioned to aſſure me, that he was abſolutely determined not to come to Paris at all, ſince I refuſed to accompany him in his entry, and to confer with him upon thoſe affairs which would decide the part he was to take, and which he could only know from me.

THUS importuned, I went again to the queen, to ſolicit her conſent that I ſhould meet the prince; but I could obtain no other permiſſion, than ſuch a one as plainly indicated her diſpleaſure at my aſking it. The choice I was to make was ſo much the more perplexing, as it lay between two parties which from thenceforward muſt be looked on as totally oppoſite to each other: however, I declared myſelf openly for that which would conſider my compliance as an eſſential ſervice, rather than the other, by whom it could be only acknowledged as an inſtance of complaiſance which would be ſoon forgot. And I went to meet the prince[†], who, notwithſtanding all that the duke of Epernon could ſay to him, would not ſet out from the place where he had dined, till he knew that I was not far off. I met him in the open road, and alighted to pay my reſpects to him; but he was off his horſe almoſt as ſoon as me, and came to embrace me with equal marks of joy and deference. He began a conference with me as we ſtood, which laſted a quarter of an hour, though d'Epernon repreſented to him that it would be late before he got to Paris: he addreſſed himſelf by the way often to me upon different ſubjects. I attended him to the gates of the Louvre, where I left him to pay his compliments[†] to the queen, and returned myſelf to the arſenal.

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[†] " The prince, ſays Matthieu, was at his houſe at Châteauroux:
" he had ſeen the duke of Sully, who had adviſed him to return to
" court, as his preſence alone would be of more advantage to the
" king's ſervice, &c." Ibid. 28.

[†] " The prince came to Paris the 15th of July, accompanied by
" fifteen hundred gentlemen, which greatly alarmed the queen, who
" was afraid, as the artillery, the Baſtile, and the late king's trea-
" ſures, were in his power, by means of the duke of Sully; in caſe
" the parliament and people ſhould not prove faithful, he might at-
" tempt things of very dangerous conſequence to the king's ſervice.
" The

It was very poſſible, that at the time when the prince of Condé ſeemed apprehenſive of meeting with ſome ill uſage from the queen, he ſecretly flattered himſelf with having a very different reception, when he reflected upon the good intelligence they were in formerly: and perhaps he had upon theſe expectations, formed a plan of conduct quite contrary to that he laid down to me, and aſſured me he would follow. It was the general opinion when he left France, that his diſcontent and his flight were the effects of that princeſs's advice and perſuaſions; and the late king was told ſo: however that may be, the prince, if he built any thing upon the former friendſhip between him and the queen, was ſoon undeceived, and knew by experience, that it was of no force againſt the jealouſy of abſolute power. The queen ſeemed to have forgot the time when they gave the name of their common intereſt to the motives by which they were actuated; but it was not her entering into recital of the affairs of ſtate, and the government which baniſhed paſt ſcenes from her remembrance; for ſhe communicated nothing to him upon thoſe heads, and confined herſelf to a ceremonial ſo grave, ſo cold, and reſerved, that the prince came away from the Louvre, greatly diſguſted with his reception.

All this I diſcovered by the diſcourſe we had together when he came to viſit me two days afterwards, though he did not at firſt explain himſelf freely, and named no one. I waited for an explanation of his ſentiments, before I would declare mine; and till then I was ſtill more reſerved than

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" The prince had no leſs miſtruſt of others than what they had of " him. On his arrival, he had notice given him three or four times, " that the queen, at the inſtigation of the count of Soiſſons, had " formed a deſign to ſecure him and the duke of Bouillon; which " was the reaſon, that notwithſtanding the kind reception he met " with from both their majeſties, he was up three nights, ready to " quit Paris on the firſt notice he ſhould receive of any attempts be- " ing formed againſt him," Hiſt, de la Mere & du Fils, vol. I. p. 101.

he was: but at length he began to talk to me of his deſigns in terms ſo clear, expreſſed all at once ſo much eſteem for me, and ſuch unlimited confidence in my ſincerity, ſhewed ſo ardent a deſire to labour in concert with me, to find proper meaſures to hinder that confuſion and diſorder with which the affairs of the ſtate and the finances were threatened, demanded ſo ſincerely my advice concerning the conduct he ſhould purſue for the public good, in the midſt of thoſe obſtacles which jealouſy, hatred, and faction, were going to oppoſe to his deſigns, that I thought I owed ſo much to his generous confidence, and to the laudable motive by which he was inſpired, as to open my heart to him freely upon all that he had ſaid: to this I was more fully determined by his telling me candidly, that among all thoſe to whom he communicated his earneſt wiſhes, that the political and domeſtic affairs of the ſtate might ſtill continue to be governed by the ſame maxims which the late king had purſued, there was not one who did not endeavour to make him alter his opinion, and give him a diſguſt to the former adminiſtration. I was afraid that the view of difficulties either abſolutely inſurmountable, or which could not be overcome without infinite hazard, would throw him into the path they ſought to lead him to.

After I had thanked him for the honour of his eſteem and confidence, I made him the following anſwer, and almoſt in theſe words: That thoſe perſons whom he had conſulted upon the preſent queſtion, were all too much intereſted in it to give him ſuch advice as might ruin their hopes and expectations; that I could offer him no other than ſuch as I would give to his uncles, the prince of Conti and count of Soiſſons; and to the queen herſelf, were they to conſult me with any intentions to be influenced by my reaſons, becauſe the real intereſt of all four, if well examined, would be found to be the ſame; and this advice was, to unite together to ſupport the honour and grandeur of the king againſt the nobles, and againſt that crowd of importunate, ambitious, and ſelf-intereſted men, with which the court was filled; ſince the deſigns of all thoſe perſons were, by methods the leaſt allowable, to take advantage of a conjuncture which has at all times been the triumph of avarice and licentiouſneſs: that this was the point from which they were to ſet out; and that they might not go aſide, or give an example to others which they themſelves condemned, it was neceſſary that the whole kingdom ſhould be informed, by a ſolemn declaration, that their ſole view in this union was the glory of the ſtate; and by the effects it produced, the people ſhould be convinced that they were treading in the ſteps of a king, all whoſe deſigns and undertakings had been juſtified by that ſucceſs they hoped to be favoured with: that it was indiſpenſibly neceſſary to proteſt frequently, and in the moſt public manner, that they were actuated by the ſame ſpirit by which that great prince had found the ſecret of making a kingdom, plunged in miſery and deſpair, opulent and flouriſhing; and the moſt effectual proof they could give of their exact imitation of him, was to have no ſelfiſh views, by refuſing all the unjuſt demands of a whole people of greedy courtiers: I did not mean by this, that they were not to expect or deſire any reward for themſelves; on the contrary, it was one of the advantages which theſe four perſons would derive from this ſyſtem, that by directing all affairs with wiſdom and prudence, they would in one year accumulate more riches juſtly and with honour, than they could in ten by any other method; but that, however, they muſt not ſuffer themſelves to be tainted by avarice; and this caution I repeated the oftener, becauſe that of all the virtues neceſſary to ſtateſmen, there is not one ſo difficult to practiſe as moderation, in the midſt of vaſt treaſures and unlimited favour. I added, that I knew already all the plans formed by each of the princes to enjoy what they called the rights of their birth; but alſo, that by preſerving themſelves from that dangerous ſnare, no power would be able to reſiſt them: were all the nobles and all the heads of the different factions to be leagued againſt them, the intereſt of the king, when ſupported by ſuch methods, would become the public and the general intereſt, and the impreſſion made by the royal name would be then carried to its higheſt pitch.

I THEN told the prince, that all which now remained was to know, whether the queen and the two other princes of the blood, were diſpoſed to take ſuch meaſures as were neceſſary for the ſucceſs of this ſcheme; but that I was ſo far from flattering him with this hope, that I freely declared to him, that he ought not to reckon upon their concurrence: yet that this ſhould not make him diſpenſe with himſelf from uſing his utmoſt endeavours to bring the queen over, as well becauſe it was neceſſary that, in a point of this conſequence, he ſhould have no cauſe to reproach himſelf with any neglect, as becauſe this princeſs, being already in poſſeſſion of the royal authority, he would have occaſion for the ſtrongeſt reaſons he could urge, to juſtify to the public the extremities he would be obliged to proceed to. That, after this precaution, no conſideration whatever ſhould hinder him from taking upon himſelf the diſcharge of a duty which the princes his uncles were not willing to ſhare with him; but that, when thus deprived of all other ſupport, he muſt make his actions ſpeak for him: theſe muſt ſhew a diſintereſtedneſs ſo determined, a candor and probity ſo diſtinguiſhed, as may accuſtom the people to look upon him as the true friend of the king, themſelves, and the ſtate: that a man who employed only ſuch arms as theſe, in a rank ſo elevated, would ſooner or later carry all before him: that the princes of Conti and Soiſſons would be among the firſt who were ſenſible of it, by comparing the honour which a procedure ſo great and diſintereſted would reflect upon the royal blood, with the diſreſpect, the contempt, and often the affronts they would be expoſed to, when the public ſaw them confounded with the reſt of the ſelfiſh courtiers. That the queen herſelf would find many arguments to balance her inclination to a contrary conduct, eſpecially if ſhe ſaw the princes of the blood reunited againſt her. That, in a word, I believed I might venture to engage for it, that neceſſity, confidence, and the force of the torrent, would at length bring all over to this ſide; and that there would be no longer any connexions, quarrels, reconciliations, and cabals, between the queen, the princes, and the people in place, which would not turn to the advantage of his authority, if, from this moment, he would begin to form the plan I had ſketched out to him, and follow it faithfully.

The extreme attention with which the prince liſtened to me, convinced me that I had found the way to his heart, and that I had made upon it that ſtrong impreſſion which is the effect of virtue and juſtice united in the ſame object. What has ſince happened does not prove that I was then deceived; or, if it does, it proves alſo that the prince deceived himſelf firſt; ſince it is certain, that the force of my arguments ſupported him a long time againſt the aſſaults he had on all ſides. Whatever arts were made uſe of by thoſe perſons that continually beſet him, the ſligheſt attention to the nature of thoſe counſels they gave him, muſt have ſhewn him very plainly, that they were dictated by avarice and ambition. How different were ſuch ſentiments from thoſe I endeavoured to inſpire him with? He felt it, he was convinced of it, and yet he ſuffered himſelf, like all the reſt, to be carried along with the torrent. The duke of Bouillon contributed more than any other to engage him in the party of error †. I myſelf repreſent, and probably exaggerate, every thing that can ſerve to juſtify this prince, by candidly acknowledging that it was not difficult to paint, in the fineſt colours, thoſe motives by which they endeavoured to undermine my principles; and that it ought not to appear ſurpriſing, that a prince young and unexperienced, ſhould not have diſcernment enough to diſtinguiſh appearances from realities; nor firmneſs enough to prefer what is uſeful to what flatters and pleaſes. It was by the following arguments that they effaced all the impreſſion which mine had made on his mind.

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† The author of the life of the duke of Bouillon, giving an account of the counſels that duke gave the prince of Condé, ſays, "He adviſed him to leave the queen the quality of regent, but to "reduce it to a mere title, which might ſatisfy her vanity; but to "get all the actual authority into his own hands. He told him, he "knew an infallible way of bringing this to paſs, which, if he would "purſue, he would be anſwerable for the ſucceſs: that this method "conſiſted in his again making profeſſion of the calviniſt religion, "from which the late king had drawn him, and to declare himſelf "the protector of the proteſtants in France: that being, in conſequence of this ſtep, followed by the calviniſt nobility, of whom "he would be head, maſter of all the ſtrong places in the poſſeſſion "of that party (that is, of an hundred and three towns and places, "well fortified) ſupported by all the Swiſs in France, of whom the "duke of Rohan was colonel-general; ſecure of all the treaſures "left by the late king in the Baſtile, which the duke of Sully, diſcontented with the regent, could put into his hands: it could "not, with all theſe great advantages, be any way doubted, but a "firſt prince of the blood, as he was during a minority, muſt be "in a condition to ſeize on all the authority, and make himſelf "equally formidable within the kingdom as without.---God did not "permit him to follow this advice of the duke of Bouillon: if he "had, the calviniſts would have recovered all the advantages they "had loſt by the late king's converſion: in all probability, the kingdom would have been divided between them and the catholics; "and their republic, which was treated as imaginary, would at laſt "have proved ſomething real." Vol. II. p. 307. But many continued perſuaded, as this hiſtorian himſelf afterwards owns, that the duke of Bouillon did not ſeriouſly make this propoſition to the prince; that he was the firſt to divert him from it; and that all his intent was, only to let the regent ſee, that he himſelf would be a ſufficient ſecurity againſt all the miſchief he was able to do her.

THEY told him, that the reaſons I had urged to him tended only to engage him in an abſurd imaginary ſyſtem; that ſuch refined maxims neither ſuited our times nor our manners; that probity and virtue alone ſignified nothing; that the chimera's with which I filled his imagination would be laughed at by all reaſonable perſons; that by thus aſpiring to be the ſupport of the whole nation, he would only incur a general hatred, and too late regret, that he had not made a better uſe of ſo happy a conjuncture: that the only wiſe part for him to take, at a time when the royal treaſures were going to become a public prey, was to claim the beſt and the largeſt portion of them for himſelf, as being, after their majeſties, the firſt perſon in the kingdom †; that he had profited but little by the neceſſitous condition to which he had been reduced, if it had not taught him, that when an opportunity offered to extricate himſelf from it, it ought to be received with open arms: that he might be aſſured it was not ſo much for his intereſt as my own, that I endeavoured to throw him into a deſperate party; that this was the only reſource I had left to ſupport my expiring credit: that by ſeeking to connect his intereſt with mine, I ſhould drag him down the precipice with me: that the hatred of the nobles and the miniſters againſt me was ſo great and invincible, that the bare ſuſpicion of my having any influence over him, was ſufficient to ruin all his expectations and deſigns: that I had diſdained to offer my friendſhip and ſervices to any one; and, in revenge, all were ſo well agreed upon that one point, my ruin, that there was no condition which they would not accept from thoſe who were going to have the diſpoſal of all favours and rewards, provided my diſgrace was annexed to it.

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† "He would gladly," ſays the ſame hiſtorian I have juſt been quoting, "have conteſted the regency if he had dared; but he was "diverted from it by the kind treatment he met with. He had a "penſion of two hundred thouſand livres given him, together with the "palace of Conti, in the ſuburb of Saint Germain, which had been "bought for two hundred thouſand francs, the county of Clermont, "and many other gratifications."

On occaſions like theſe, when one has been able to render the advice ſuſpected, the adviſer is not far from being hated: this was what they undertook to accompliſh, and they ſucceeded. They gave the prince to underſtand, that it was abſolutely neceſſary for the ſyſtem he was going to embrace, that my ruin ſhould be reſolved on: what I had ſaid to him myſelf confirmed it to him; all my own words were turned againſt me; ſo that by a ſtrange caprice of the mind (of which, however, politics have furniſhed more than one example) thoſe very ſentiments which but a moment before the prince had admired in my mouth, laid the foundation of that hatred he from thenceforward began to bear me, and of the perſecution he raiſed againſt me. Then it was that the reſolution was taken, not to ſuffer me to continue any longer in the miniſtry † than was neceſſary for their own ſchemes; and in the mean time to undermine, by degrees, what power I had ſtill left, and to withdraw, without any ſeeming deſign, all the papers, memoirs, and inſtructions, relating to the finances, which were in my hands, till the moment arrived when I was to be diſmiſſed for ever. If the execution of this plot was deferred till the following year, it was only becauſe ſome unforeſeen difficulties retarded it.

Probably I did not at that time know all the plots which were then ſecretly forming againſt me; but I gueſſed at ſo many of them, that I reſumed, with more earneſtneſs than formerly, the reſolution that I had endeavoured to make my family agree to, which was, to retire from court before I ſhould appear to be forced from it; I even went ſo far as to mention my deſign to the queen regent, and intreated her not to oppoſe it. Although, by this propoſal, I was doubtleſs anſwering all her views, yet ſhe uſed ſuch profound diſſimulation in the anſwer ſhe made me, that although I had ſuffered myſelf to be deceived, yet I think I could not have been accuſed of too great credulity. Conchini and his wife had never more influence over her than then: ſhe began to be wholly governed by them; yet ſhe pretended to be as much diſguſted with their proceedings as I was myſelf: ſhe endeavoured to perſuade me that ſhe was fully ſatisfied with my conduct; that ſhe ſhould be greatly perplexed if I abandoned her, at a time when the king's coronation would give her ſufficient employment; and that it would take up all the remainder of the year, to prepare for the changes which my diſmiſſion from my employments muſt neceſſarily make in affairs I accommodated myſelf to her will, without ſuffering my own to be altered; for though I continued to perform all the duties of my offices, yet I was ſo conſtantly upon my guard againſt the machinations of my enemies, that I would not leave them an opportunity of ſpoiling me themſelves.

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† All theſe intrigues amongſt the princes, the courtiers, and the miniſters, to get the duke of Sully removed, are related in particular memoirs, and eſpecially in L'Hiſtoire de la Mere et du Fils, vol. I. p. 11, & ſeq. 120, 127, & ſeq. In the Hiſtory of the duke of Bouillon, vol. II. p. 313, & ſeq.

They at length came to a reſolution with regard to the affair of Cleves: indeed it could not be longer delayed, if they had any deſire to appear concerned in it. The army of the confederates, joined to that of the United Provinces, had laid ſiege to Juliers; and the prince of Orange, who commanded it, had taken ſuch meaſures, that the place muſt of neceſſity fall into his hands. Our ſupplies were wholly uſeleſs to him, becauſe the houſe of Auſtria had taken no ſtep, nor ſet any troops on foot, to oppoſe her enemies: and after this exploit, the war, as they propoſed to carry it on, muſt be ſoon at an end. But the new council of the queen, compoſed of thoſe perſons I have already mentioned, thought they ſhould ſhew a maſter-piece of policy, by granting them now more than what they had been ſo long and ineffectually ſoliciting. They knew the condition the beſieged city was in, and they were deſirous of having the honour of taking it, as it could not hold out long, after the arrival of our troops. They likewiſe imagined, that this would be an incitement to the king of Spain to ſolicit an alliance with us, for which they thought he did not ſhew eagerneſs enough; and they were aſhamed to make all the advances themſelves. It was reſolved, therefore, that a body of eight thouſand foot, twelve hundred horſe, and eight pieces of cannon, ſhould be immediately ſent to Juliers; and that the command of this army ſhould be given to the marechal de la Châtre.

When this determination was made public, and, for form's ſake, laid before the general council, I could not hinder myſelf from ſpeaking my ſentiments of it freely. I deſired to know for what end they were at the expence of this army, againſt enemies who did not defend themſelves, and for allies who no longer needed our aſſiſtance? I declared my opinion of this unſeaſonable ſuccour, which was not much for our honour. I repreſented to them the difficulties and delays to which our troops were expoſed by this unneceſſary march: and indeed, to perform it without having any thing to fear from the enemies they might meet in their journey, they muſt be obliged to go a great way about, and traverſe rude, mountainous, and barren countries. Conchini, who had brought over the count of Soiſſons and the duke of Bouillon to his opinion, and who was ſatisfied with his own ſecret reaſons, ſuffered me to talk on, like a man whom they ſcorned to diſcloſe their deſigns to: and the departure of the troops was reſolved on. However, to prevent any further importunity from me, and to give me even a perſonal intereſt in this armament, they granted my ſon-in-law (who had long ſolicited a diſtinguiſhing employment in the German army) the poſt of field-marſhal-general; which was likely to be ſo much the more acceptable, as this quality gave him an unqueſtionable right to command in chief, if any thing happened to the general. It was not impoſſible even that La-Châtre would, through ſome diſguſt, reſign the command, as he had more than once been upon the point of doing. The difficulty of the roads alarmed him, as well as the dangers he might encounter in his march; and he alſo owned to me, and to ſome others of the council, that the Jeſuits raiſed great ſcruples in his mind about joining the heretics againſt good catholics. However, I gave him a little courage, by telling him of a more convenient route than that which he had deſigned to take; and he diſpoſed himſelf to begin his march.

The preparations for this armament, which fell to my charge, were made in ſuch a manner, that the army was compoſed of the beſt troops we had then on foot; they had a complete train of artillery, well ſerved; and the fund for the expences was ſo large, that the treaſurer brought back an hundred thouſand crowns. Prince Maurice acknowledged, that he had not for a long time, ſeen a body of forces ſo fine and ſo well diſciplined: he expreſſed ſome ſurprize, indeed, that the general, who, by all appearances, ſhould be one of our beſt ſoldiers, had but a very ſlight knowledge of what was practiſed in ſieges, and in other parts of war.

This is all that I ſhall ſay of this expedition: the hiſtorians * have given a more particular account of

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* See an account of the taking of Juliers, and this expedition, in the Merc. Franç. and other hiſtorians, ann. 1610.

what happened in it, how our army paſſed into Germany, and how it returned. My fears of being too ſincere upon this ſubject, and the very unuſeful part I now began to act, obliges me to haſten towards the concluſion of theſe Memoirs.

The taking of Juliers obliged the emperor to lay aſide his deſign of ſequeſtring, into the hands of the archduke Leopold of Auſtria, the territories that were in diſpute; and the dukes of Brandenburg and Neuburg quietly ſhared the whole ſucceſſion betwixt them: the elector of Brandenburg had Cleves, La-Mark, and Ravenſburg; and the duke of Neuburg, Juliers and Berg. Philip-Lewis, ſon of this duke of Neuburg, had two ſons; of whom one continued the branch of Neuburg; and from the youngeſt, the counts of Sulsback are deſcended; in whom the two branches are now going to be reunited, becauſe the branch of Neuburg will determine in the preſent elector Palatine: and from hence, an hundred and thirty years after the death of duke William of Juliers, the ſame difficulties on this eventual ſucceſſion are again likely to ariſe; the king of Pruſſia, of the houſe of Brandenburg, being able to produce the following reaſon for his oppoſition to this reunion, that the two branches were ſeparated when the treaty of 1666 was made, which ſeems only to ſtipulate for deſcendants of the contracting parties †; and the emperor, on the other hand, finding it his intereſt to ſupport the prince of Sulsback; becauſe, if this young prince ſhould happen to die without iſſue male, he would make uſe of his old pretence of the male fiefs, as a reaſon for his taking poſſeſſion of Juliers and Berg; beſides the intereſt he would have in it on account of the princes of Saxony his allies.

There appeared a work in two volumes in 1738, wherein this matter is diſcuſſed and very well explained.

† This was written before the death of the laſt emperor, and the laſt elector Palatine.

END of the FIFTH VOLUME.